



Daily Report

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Vorontsov, Zagladin, Other Officials Brief Press
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[Report from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference Press Center on 25 June press conference with Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Zagladin, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; Kapto, first deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee; Akhromyev, USSR first deputy minister of defense, head of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, and marshal of the Soviet Union; Academician Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Science; Academician Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Science's Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System; Zhurkin, director of the Institute of Europe of the USSR Academy of Science and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Science; Borovik, chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace]

[Text] At a news conference on the USSR's foreign policy and restructuring, prominent figures from the fields of international relations, disarmament, and the international links of the Soviet Union took part. The floor was given to Comrade Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR:

[Begin Vorontsov recording] The Soviet Union's foreign policy is itself in a phase of active restructuring; it is carrying out a most important task, creating at this time, right now, favorable external conditions for implementing restructuring in all other spheres in our country's life. The new political thinking and dynamism are the two foundations of this restructuring. In embarking upon it, not only did we read anew, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev figuratively said in his book, the reality of the multicolored and varied world and assess anew the differences in the interests of individual states, but we also saw the main point: the growing tendency toward interdependence between states in the world community. That is the dialectics of world development at the end of the 20th century. It was indeed with the eyes of today, the eyes of the end of the 20th century, that we looked at the reality that had not been discerned by the military theoreticians and the apologists of the atom bomb in the middle of this century. To be precise this reality is that the tens of thousands of units of nuclear weaponry accumulated to date in the world have deprived mankind of immortality.

If nuclear war breaks out now, all living things will be wiped off the face of the earth. Therefore, in our foreign policy we use as our starting point that nuclear war cannot be won, nor can the arms race that prepares for such a war be won.

Our foreign policy's dynamism has no need of proof. However, perhaps one proof should be cited nonetheless. It is the almost imploring voices of Western politicians begging us not to submit new proposals on disarmament since they have not yet managed to agree among themselves, and that includes in NATO, on a reaction to our previous initiatives. But perhaps this is the only area where we will show no mercy, so to speak. We will propose new ideas and measures and the West must get used to getting moving in preparing its responses to the Soviet Union's proposals.

The new approach to foreign policy tasks also demanded a restructuring of the foreign policy mechanism in our country. Contacts (have been established), the drive belts of interaction. Democracy and openness [otkrytost] in our foreign policy is increasing. People's diplomacy is gaining force. Stagnant elements have been revealed, and those things that hindered the conduct of a dynamic policy have been exposed. In the years of restructuring, relations with a great number of states—neighboring and very distant ones—have been improved, or made for the first time, and they have not been spoiled with anyone.

In moving toward the 19th all-union party conference, it is with pride that our party notes that restructuring in foreign policy has already produced concrete results. The direct threat of war involving the major powers has diminished. The Soviet Union's international situation has improved appreciably, and not by means of increasing strength but by means of increasing confidence in our country. However, ahead of us on the foreign policy front lies a great deal of strenuous work. We are fully resolved to do everything necessary to implement the ideas put forward by our country based on the new political thinking. These are: the program for phased elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000; the system of all-embracing security; the balance of interests; the common European home; restructuring relations in the Asian and Pacific Ocean region; defense sufficiency and the nonoffensive military doctrine; international economic security; the strengthening of national and regional security, including in Europe, on the way to eliminating imbalances and lowering the level of armaments; our readiness for mutual reduction of foreign troops and bases on foreign territories; confidence measures; and the idea of the direct inclusion of the authority of science in world policy.

We are ready to discuss these and other similar ideas at any forums, to work out concrete forms of international monitoring where that is needed, to conduct a dialogue, and to have joint reflection and searches taking into account national interests and those of mankind as a whole. Thank you. [end recording]

The participants in the press conference then answered journalists' questions:

[Begin recording] [ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] ASSOCIATED PRESS. Could you tell us what steps the Soviet Union will take in response to Pakistan's violations of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan?

[Vorontsov] In the first place, as we have said many times, we are appealing to the consciences of Pakistan's leaders. You must not violate obligations which you have accepted, literally on the very next day, and in such an open way. We believe Pakistan's leadership will understand its responsibility, and we believe that the international public will help them understand their responsibility in this case to the world. We are counting on the future fate of the Geneva agreements being brighter than they have been so far in this first week [as heard].

[ITN British Television correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] ITN. What part will foreign policy play at the 19th all-union party conference?

[Primakov] Anyone who has attentively read the Theses that were published before the beginning of the conference knows that some of them are devoted to foreign policy. Foreign policy will also be considered at our conference, which opens in a few days. That is perfectly natural, because this is a matter of creating the best conditions for advancing along the path of restructuring, and foreign policy plays a very important role in this. A very important role. We are obviously intending to discuss all these questions from the viewpoint stressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the need to analyze what has been done in the last 3 years on the path to restructuring. This naturally includes foreign policy, too.

[NOVOSTI correspondent] NOVOSTI press agency. Hello. The socialist countries have put forward a whole succession of military and political initiatives: in the Balkans, and an initiative proposing the possibility of creating nuclear-weapon-free zones in Europe. What is the reaction by the West?

[Zhurkin] It must be said that the West's reaction to these initiatives is very passive. Despite the fact that over many years, leading figures in many Western countries have come out, as they still do, in favor of the stabilization of the situation in Europe, for the situation to become more constructive, when it came down to concrete proposals from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries—and many such proposals have been made—there has been practically no reaction. There are negative reactions to this or that concrete proposal. But when speaking of important political initiatives, there is no reaction. Why? It is sometimes said in the West that it is difficult for NATO to work out such a reaction, that there are many countries with their own policies, and there is indeed some truth to this. It really is difficult to bring together into a single policy the opinions of different countries. But at the same time, this process has been dragged out too long, and it would be nice if the Western

countries shortened their reaction time to these Soviet initiatives and the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact countries. We are waiting and hoping.

[London SUNDAY TIMES correspondent, in Russian] SUNDAY TIMES. I would like to receive, if possible, a brief reply from each of you to this question: What do you think was the most serious mistake made in the USSR's military or foreign policy during the stagnation years?

[Akhromeyev] It seems that in the seventies and the first half of the eighties, we responded too bluntly to the arms race that the West had expanded. We needed to use more initiative in finding political means to respond to the way the U.S. military budget was being swiftly increased. We needed to win over the public more vigorously and show more clearly the danger of the arms race. We needed to find and demonstrate ways to end this race. One cannot say that we did not conduct this work. That would be incorrect. But those specific steps that would have been understood by the world's public everywhere were not sufficiently undertaken.

[Vorontsov] In the field of diplomacy we have now come to this conclusion, and therefore it is possible to share this with you. Over these years we were carried away by polemics. Scoring polemical and propaganda points was very highly rated. Propaganda principles really did often get in the way of real work. We were led too much in this respect by Western powers that were prepared to discuss anything, but were not prepared to reach agreement. We should have taken them by the arm and sat them down more, and forced them, if you like, to elaborate on specific points in an agreement. We were wrong in that we often lacked initiative in this respect.

[Zagladin] I would put it this way: The main thing, I believe, at the root of it is conceptual inconsistency. While rejecting nuclear war and waging a struggle to avert it, we nonetheless proceeded from the possibility of winning it. Hence, a confrontational approach in a nonconfrontational situation, a military and political reply, instead of a political one; and the propaganda exercises that Yuriy Mikhaylovich mentioned. When we brought our concept into line with reality and logic, our whole policy started to be organized differently.

[Kapto] Apart from political, military, and economic issues, I would like to name one very important issue that in the past was underrated to the same degree that it is now highly valued: the issue of cooperation with representatives of other parties, major political figures in bourgeois countries. This recent period has shown that dialogue is possible and essential here. There are huge possibilities here to find common solutions, and time shows that joint efforts must be increased in this direction.

[Bogomolov] It seems to me that one of the errors in our foreign policy in the period of stagnation was the fact that we thought many problems were to be resolved

through foreign policy moves, whereas the main factor in resolving these problems generally lies in the domestic development of our economy, further improving social relations, and increasing the people's well-being. This is the most powerful factor in foreign policy decisions. I think it was this that we underestimated in the past.

[Zhurkin] In addition to all these things, it seems to me that one important miscalculation by us was that our country was not open enough in evaluating its military potential, in informing the world community of one aspect or another of our foreign policy. I think that glasnost, which has now started to be introduced into the sphere of foreign policy, is a most important turnaround, and I hope it will be introduced even more actively.

[Primakov] I agree with what has already been said, and I would add: the range of alternatives [mnogovariantnost] was poorly presented in the adoption of decisions. This seems to me to be a very serious mistake. It would be good for us to work through alternative solutions more, through the many variants, before adopting one.

[Borovik] I think one of the big mistakes in our foreign policy during the time of stagnation was ignoring public opinion, or at least not taking public opinion into account when decisions were made; the supposition that we had a monopoly on truth. I think the new way of thinking, if I can express it in shorthand, is indeed a change from monologue to dialogue.

[Unidentified questioner in Russian] This question to all of you, comrades. What do you think is the West's most important mistake in its policies toward the Soviet Union and the socialist countries? [laughter in audience]

[Akhromeyev] I see, but I do not actually know if it was a mistake or a premeditated policy. Perhaps I am mistaken. I would say that for some people, influential people, it is the premeditated policy of premeditated—forgive me for saying so—and malevolent propaganda that has been being conducted for decades. But as for public opinion, obviously it is a mistake. But for many decades they have been beating into people's heads the concept of a so-called Soviet military threat, Soviet military superiority. If I can express a hope, then it is that in the glasnost that exists, and that will exist even more in the near future in this field—in the correlation of military forces, the situation of the two sides' military forces—this myth will be dispelled, and on that basis, that the people of Europe and the world will live in a calmer and more equitable situation.

[Vorontsov] I think one of the important and misleading mistakes by the Western countries regarding the Soviet Union and the socialist countries was the idea, which I think is still current in the West, that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries can be forced to do what the West wants. Neither the Soviet Union nor the socialist countries can be forced to do anything. It is possible to reach an agreement with us, and I think this is now

penetrating more into the awareness of the Western figures. Yes, it is possible to reach agreements, but nothing will come from force.

[Zagladin] It seems to me that we must talk about conceptions. I think the main thing is that the West, from 1917 to the present—at least, a significant part of Western politicians—start from a completely false presupposition that a difference in social systems is an insuperable barrier to normal relations. Even now, in the period of restructuring, when they evaluate it, some of our partners say: Yes, of course, it is all very good, but the Russians still have not given up their system, so we will wait a bit longer. We will not give up our system, and we do not think a difference in social systems is an insurmountable barrier to good relations. The West's failure to understand this is the source of the whole situation, it seems to me.

[Kapto] In forming public opinion on the Soviet Union, which has just been discussed, the West is making a bad mistake—if we are talking about mistakes—regarding their own people. It is a mistake to form public opinion, to form among the people such ideas about our country and our people. So if we are talking about mistakes, I would like to point out one of them: that such acts are aimed against the people of some countries.

[Bogomolov] I see one of the mistakes in the West's foreign policy toward the socialist countries as the absence of necessary realism, an underestimation of the capabilities of the socialist system to improve itself, leading to a distorted and false picture of these countries—a picture of an enemy that often does not accord with reality and the actual state of affairs. From this follows many of the subsequent foreign policy steps and actions.

[Zhurkin] I regard as an important shortcoming in the West's policy its egoistic attitude toward economic cooperation between systems and countries around the world, its attempts to use economic leverage to gain influence over the countries of our system. But having said that, I must naturally stress that this in no way excuses our side, particularly the Soviet Union and our leadership, for our earlier enormous mistakes in the economic sphere.

[Primakov] I would list as many as 3 mistakes, if you like. First, there is a double logic frequently seen in the attitude that what the West does is acceptable, but if similar things are done by the Soviet Union, this is condemned for allegedly destabilizing the international situation. The second mistake is also conceptual: the so-called game with a zero result. It is when Western politicians start from the assumption that everything that is good for us is bad for them, and vice versa, that everything good for them is bad for us. You cannot develop on the basis of this logic. Third, to this day we are frequently not treated as an equal partner, particularly on a regional level. This brings very destabilizing results.

[Borovik] I would also like to list several mistakes. I think the first mistake was their very harsh attitude toward dissenters, because the biggest dissenters of the 20th century were the people who carried out the October Revolution. I have in mind their economic, diplomatic, and military attitude toward us. Second, it seems to me that both the anti-Soviet propaganda that began in 1917, as we have said, was a great mistake. It was a very big mistake for the politicians who control the destiny of the world to have fallen victim to their own propaganda. I think President Reagan's repudiation on Red Square, his promise not to call the Soviet Union an evil empire any more, is evidence of this.

There are two more mistakes that should not be forgotten. They are not conceptual, but they are serious ones. I think that complicity in the creation of fascism as an instrument of struggle against the Soviet Union led not only to tragedy for the Soviet people, but for the whole world. I think that the show of force over Hiroshima, addressed to the Soviet Union, was also a tragedy. Finally, a conceptual mistake: those of you who have read Graham Greene's "Quiet American" will all recall the very good and honest American called Pyle, who believed that Americans' mission was to teach the world democracy. I believe that, conceptually, the role of world teacher must be renounced. [end recording]

Replies were given to other questions from journalists. The press conference was chaired by Comrade Sklyarov, head of the press center, chief of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

PRAVDA Reports Briefing

PM2706091388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Foreign Policy and Restructuring. At the Party Conference Press Center"]

[Text] Soviet foreign policy is at the stage of active restructuring, which makes it possible to create favorable external conditions for implementing transformations within the country. This was stressed at a 25 June press conference at the 19th All-Union Party Conference Press Center.

New thinking and dynamism are the two foundations of this restructuring, Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, said at the opening of the meeting with Soviet and foreign journalists. A considerable amount of intensive work lies ahead. We are prepared to discuss constructive ideas at any forum, to work out specific forms of international verification, to hold a dialogue, and to conduct joint discussions and searches taking into account national and general human interests.

The numerous questions from the correspondents touched on all aspects of the present-day international situation. However, there was a particularly lively

exchange of opinions on the question of the foreign policy errors committed by the West and the Soviet Union with regard to each other.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff: I do not know whether it is a question of a mistake or of malicious propaganda which for many decades filled people's heads with fear of the "Soviet military threat" and "Soviet military superiority." The USSR has always adhered and continues to adhere to the principle of equality and equal security. People talk about superiority in Europe, for instance. But there is approximate military equilibrium in this region, even though there are asymmetries on our side and the NATO side—asymmetries for whose elimination we are constantly calling.

V.V. Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department: The main point is that from 1917 right up to the present day, a considerable number of Western politicians have proceeded on the basis of an entirely false assumption that the difference in social systems is an insuperable barrier to normal relations. The differences and diversity among states represent not just a source of discord, but also an immense store of experience that makes it possible to learn, compare, compete, and have good relations.

A.S. Kapto, first deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department: The West is making a very great mistake with regard to its own peoples in shaping in them false ideas about the Soviet people, without realizing that such actions run counter to its own interests.

O.T. Bogomolov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute: One defect in the West's foreign policy is its lack of proper realism and underestimation of the ability of the socialist social system to improve itself.

V.V. Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute: A notable shortcoming in the West's policy is its egoistic attitude to questions of economic collaboration between systems and countries in the world arena and the attempts to exert "economic leverage" on the countries of the socialist system.

Ye.M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute: I would mention three mistakes. The first is the double logic seen in the fact that certain Western actions are considered normal, while similar steps by the USSR are thought to destabilize the situation. The second mistake is the "zero result game," in which Western politicians proceed from the premise that everything that is good for us is bad for them and vice versa. And the third is that we are often not treated as an equal partner, particularly at the regional level.

"Has the Soviet Union made mistakes in its attitude to the West?" a British journalist asked.

S.F. Akhromeyev: In the seventies and early eighties we were too direct in our response to the arms race launched by the West. Clearly, we needed to be more enterprising in finding political means, in winning the public over to our side, and in demonstrating the dangers of the arms race more honestly. This work was done, but there were not enough concrete steps that were understood by the world public.

Yu.M. Vorontsov: In the diplomatic sphere we were too caught up in polemics. Propaganda principles often got in the way of real work. We often allowed ourselves to be strung along by the Western countries, which were prepared to talk about anything instead of working out specific agreements.

G.A. Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace Presidium: One mistake in our foreign policy during the period of stagnation was the complete absence of glasnost in the adoption of the most important decisions and the ignoring of public opinion.

The press conference also touched upon specific questions, regional topics in particular. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are fully carrying out all the provisions of the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, Yu.M. Vorontsov stressed.

The Soviet troop withdrawal is going to plan and, as of today, over 20,000 men and around 3,000 items of various combat hardware have been withdrawn, S.F. Akhromeyev reported. As for the armed opposition, it is not now fighting the Afghan Army: Peaceful towns and airports are being shelled, and civil airliners downed. Essentially, he stressed, a terror campaign is being carried out against the peaceful populace.

The chief of the General Staff also told the journalists about the state of play with regard to the fulfillment of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. He pointed to the Soviet side's readiness to accept U.S. inspectors, noting that, according to the information at hand, the U.S. side is also prepared to hold inspections on its territory. As for the work to eliminate missile arms, the Soviet Union will embark on the fulfillment of this work in August this year.

The press conference raised the problem of the CPSU's relations with the world communist movement. In this respect V.V. Zagladin stressed that there have been great changes in this sphere since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress. On the one hand, he said, our relations with communist and revolutionary democratic parties have been stepped up, and on the other hand, they have become deeper and more friendly and equal. We are now focusing attention on cooperation with everyone, irrespective of whether

there are any differences between us, and we are spearheading this cooperation in the area of resolving the problems facing all mankind—peace, the resolution of other global problems, and the guaranteeing of conditions for social progress.

Other questions from the journalists were answered. Yu.A. Sklyarov, leader of the press center and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, took part in the press conference.

Troop Withdrawals Proposed

LD2506105088 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, proposed that the elimination of foreign military presence and bases in foreign territories be started from the Mediterranean.

Addressing a press conference here today, he noted that albeit the Soviet proposal on putting an end to the stay of foreign troops and military bases in the territory of other countries, which was put forward by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, at the third special U.N. General Assembly session, has not yet been elaborated in detail, "it is possible, as the first step, to withdraw the fleets of foreign countries from the Mediterranean."

In the course of the upcoming talks on reduction of the armed forces and arms in Europe, Marshal Akhromeyev continued, it will also be possible to start the return of Soviet troops into their territory from the territories of a number of East European countries, and the troops of the USA and Britain—to their territory from the FRG.

Touching upon the situation at the talks on strategic offensive weapons after the Moscow summit meeting, the chief of the General Staff said that the Soviet side had attentively analysed the agreements reached at it by the leaders of the two countries. The activities have also been analysed on the working groups which have made considerable progress. At present the Soviet side is completing preparations for that so as to resume with fresh vigour the talks in Geneva on July 12.

"The preparations for the implementation of the INF Treaty, which has come into force, have added very many things we have to attended to," Marshal Akhromeyev continued. Preparedness has now been checked on all the facilities in the territory of the USSR for inspection by the U.S. side. All the equipment and facilities have been prepared for the travel and work at them by American inspectors. As the U.S. side has informed us, work in this line has been completed in the USA, too.

The Special Control Commission in Geneva, which was set up by the USSR and the USA, is examining the technical aspects of the upcoming inspections and eliminations. On July 1 the sides will start inspecting each other. The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is due to be started in August.

Vorontsov on UN Observers

LD2506203088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] [Announcer] The press center for the 19th all-union party conference is now working full steam ahead. For example there was a major press conference there today on the topic of the CPSU foreign policy and restructuring. Among those taking part was Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. Here is what he had to say in particular:

[Begin Vorontsov recording] Perhaps of all the elements in the vast process of restructuring in our country, the restructuring of its foreign policy is the most conspicuous for people in other countries. It surprises some, delights some, and perplexes others, while there are some people who are simply frightened by it. There are clearly very many people who cannot keep pace with the restructuring of our foreign policy.

The new political thinking and dynamism are the two foundations of this restructuring. If nuclear war breaks out now, all living things will be wiped off the face of the earth. Therefore, in our foreign policy, we use as our starting point that a nuclear war cannot be won, nor can the arms race which prepares for such a war be won.

The dynamism of our foreign policy has no need of proof. However, perhaps one proof ought to be cited nonetheless. It is the almost imploring voices of Western politicians begging us not to put forward new proposals on disarmament since they have not yet managed to agree among themselves, including in NATO, on a reaction to our previous initiatives. Perhaps this is the only area where we will show no mercy, so to speak. We will propose new ideas and measures and the West must get used to getting a move on in preparing its responses to the Soviet Union's proposals.

In moving toward the 19th all-union party conference, it is with pride that our party notes that restructuring in foreign policy has already produced concrete results. The direct threat of war involving the major powers has diminished. The international situation of the Soviet Union has improved appreciably and not by means of increasing strength, but by means of increasing confidence in our country. The situation in the world has become more stable and more predictable. The inclusion of new thinking in international policy has been crowned with major practical results. A treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has been concluded. The withdrawal of troops has begun on the basis of the Geneva agreements.

A definite improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations as a result of 4 summit meetings makes it possible to count on a fundamental turning-point toward eliminating the nuclear threat.

However, ahead of us on the foreign policy front there lies a great deal of strenuous work. We are filled with resolve to do everything necessary to implement the ideas put forward by our country on the basis of the new political thinking. [end recording]

[Announcer] One question correspondents asked Comrade Vorontsov concerned the current situation in Afghanistan, and in particular the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of that country. Answering it, Comrade Vorontsov stressed the following.

[Begin Vorontsov recording] We have heard no complaints regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from any side. We are keeping a careful eye on Pakistan, and as you know, we and the Republic of Afghanistan have a very great many complaints here. The clear provisions of the Geneva agreements that pledge Pakistan not to have on its territory any units that would aspire to undermine the existing order in Afghanistan are still not being fulfilled. The fact that they are not being fulfilled is being recorded by international observers and UN observers, and, what is more, in a rather peculiar manner. They are allowed virtually only along the roads and they are shown things as tourists would be, and are told to look to the right and to look to the left and then to turn back, and they return to Islamabad having touched virtually nothing with their own hands.

The situation is extremely abnormal and, as you know, the Soviet Union has drawn Pakistan's attention to this abnormality. The Republic of Afghanistan is making protests almost every day, unfortunately, since in reality there is currently no aspiration to be observed on the part of the Pakistani side to implement the Geneva agreements in practice. Camps and bases for training rebels continue to exist on the territory of Pakistan and arms supplies continue, too. Furthermore these arms supplies are not only continuing but have increased, according to our statistics. These camps now come directly under the command of officers of the Pakistani Army. Is that not a violation of the Geneva agreements?

Unfortunately, there are many facts of this kind and we think that the Government of Pakistan, the Pakistani leadership, will in the end come to its senses, as the saying goes, and will meet in full the obligations bearing the signature of Pakistan. [end recording]

Further on Afghan Situation

LD2506104488 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The Soviet Union and Afghanistan fully abide by all the provisions of the Geneva accords on a political settlement of the situation

around Afghanistan. These are not just words, since U.N. observers who have an opportunity to monitor the return of the Soviet troops home, are at work in Afghanistan's territory. There have been no complaints on that issue on their part, said Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. He was addressing a press conference today.

Yet the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan hold many grudges against Pakistan, Yuliy Vorontsov continued. The explicit provisions of the Geneva accords making it incumbent upon Pakistan not to have in its territory any elements that would wish to undermine the system existing in Afghanistan are not implemented thus far. The situation is absolutely abnormal and the USSR has drawn Pakistan's attention to that. More than 30 protests have been made from the Afghan side about the violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

Camps and bases for the training of rebels remain in Pakistan's territory and the supply of weapons for them is continuing, and, according to the information we have, has even increased. Thus 500 cross-country vehicles with heavy machine-guns recently arrived in Pakistan's territory and are daily turned over to the rebels across the border.

Yuliy Vorontsov cited specific facts of direct participation of Pakistani and U.S. military in the training of rebels. Thus the camp near Kalan village at a distance of 20 kilometres from Islamabad, where 2,500 rebels are under training, is under the command of Pakistani General Sarfraz Ahmad [name as received]. A team of American instructors with Colonel Kamas [name as received] at its head, is currently staying in the same camp. Deplorably, the Soviet diplomat said, such facts are numerous. The Soviet Union hopes that the Pakistani Government, will, at last, fully abide by the agreements signed by it, rather than violate them openly as it does.

"The Soviet troops are returning home according to schedule, and more than 20,000 men and 3,000 units of various military equipment have been returned home by today," Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, told the press conference. As far as armed opposition is concerned, it is now fighting not against the Afghan Army: Cities and airports are strafed, civilian planes are downed. As a matter of fact, this is terror against the peaceful population, Marshal Akhromyev emphasised.

Pakistani Violations Cited

LD2506135488 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The Soviet side has repeatedly informed the world public of massive mining of the Afghan territory and booby-mines, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference today.

At the same time there are no, and cannot be, facts indicating that such crimes are committed by Soviet soldiers, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

It is self-evident that slanderous concoctions against the Soviet Limited Military Contingent are aimed both at screening the crimes of mutineers and at diverting the attention of the international community from problems of achieving an all-round Afghan settlement, from crude violation by Pakistan of the Geneva accords.

Yuriy Gremitskikh cited concrete facts. Using their army transport, the Pakistani authorities shift weapons and ammunition from depots of the 12th Corps of the Pakistani Armed Forces to the Tuba Transshipment Base 24 kilometres east of the city of Chuman.

On June 20 Rais Jalil and Mullah Manon [names as received], representatives of the "Alliance of the Seven", arrived in Parwan Province from Peshawar. Their aim is to form a new regiment "Hezb-e Eslami" numbering 500-600. U.S. clothing was brought to the same place.

As many as 25 American, Pakistani and French advisers came from Pakistan to the units of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud in the same province of Parwan (Chamalwarda village).

On last June 16 twenty million afghanis were sent from Peshawar to mutineers of the "Jamiyat-e Eslami" operating in Herat Province.

In Pakistan formation of a "volunteer corps" numbering 3,000 was started on the basis of border regiments of mutineers.

Cyprus, Bloc Ties Discussed

LD2506134488 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—"The Soviet Union is concerned about the remaining high tensions in Cyprus", Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, said today. We are for a normal settlement of the Cyprus problem, without the use of force, without armed interference by the countries which have nothing to do with the island, he said, addressing a press conference here on the subject "Soviet Foreign Policy and Perestroika." The Soviet Union will do everything necessary to assist the people of the whole of Cyprus to find a peaceful and just settlement to that problem.

Asked about the CPSU's mutual relations with the world communist movement, Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that there had been a great change in that field after the 27th Congress of the CPSU. On the one hand, the CPSU's relations with the communist revolutionary democratic parties have been invigorated, on the other hand they have deepened, and become more frank, truly friendly and equitable. Now, Vadim Zagladin continued, we strive for cooperation

with all the parties irrespective of the fact whether we have any divergencies, and aim our efforts at resolving the problems facing the whole humanity, at ensuring conditions for further social progress.

Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, touched upon the problem of integration of the CMEA member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. [sentence as received] In that connection he said that the regular CMEA session scheduled to open within the next two days will devote its main attention to outlining the strategy for cooperation for the future. Among the problems calling for a new approach, Academician Bogomolov said, it is necessary to single out the concept of the international socialist division of labour. The system of the division of labour which shaped has become obsolete since it was built on the exchange of raw materials and fuel for the ready-made products of the other CMEA member-countries. This resulted in a sharp decline in the rates of mutual exchanges of commodities. Now it is necessary to lay emphasis on specialisation and cooperation in various fields of production, include individual plants into the process of decision-making. Therefore the question arises of creating a common market of the CMEA member-countries in which there would be no obstacles to a free flow of commodities, capital and manpower from country to country.

Aboymov Hails CEMA-EEC Ties

LD2506131688 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community opens the way to cooperation in the fields of mutual interests. A statement to this effect was made today by Ivan Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister, at the press centre of the 19th all-union conference of the CPSU.

The settlement of relations between these two organizations is a major international event, which will leave a favourable impact on the political climate in Europe. While deepening and perfecting in every way possible the process of socialist economic integration, the CMEA member-countries invariably come out in favour of the development of broad, long-term and stable trade and economic relations with the countries of the West, including the EEC member-countries Ivan Aboymov said. The EEC accounts for 55 percent of the trade between the CMEA member-countries and the industrialised capitalist states.

"The signing of the declaration was preceded by long talks between CMEA and EEC, in whose course their participants displayed goodwill and preparedness for a search for mutually acceptable decisions," Ivan Aboymov

noted. "I would like to note the constructive role played by the FRG, which chaired the EEC, and its other participants in the Commission of the European Communities.

During the initialling of the declaration in Moscow and its signing in Luxembourg the CMEA countries made a statement that nothing in the declaration shall affect and can affect the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin of 1971.

'Critical Analysis' of Foreign Policy Advocated

PM2306113688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 24, 12 Jun 88 p 6

[Article by Aleksandr Bovin: "Let's Break the Ice on Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Bold, refreshing and controversial articles in the press address many basic issues of life in this country—the Party and government affairs, the economy, culture, art and science.

But nothing of this kind is being written about our foreign policy. Is it because it is OK and there's no room for improvement?

This question was raised by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze last year.

Has anything changed since? Yes and no.

No, there has been no change because there still is no sign of any "bold, refreshing and controversial" articles of a scientific nature that contain critical analysis of Soviet foreign policy.

Yes, there have been changes because some publications by scholars and journalists contain critical remarks about certain Soviet foreign policy moves.

It's time for a sober analysis of the events of 1939-1941. These cover the whole field of relations of the USSR and Germany with the rest of the world, and the Soviet-Finnish war.

One such article is by Ernst Genri. It was carried by MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on May 18 and 19, 1988.

It contains more than a fair share of vagueness, crude and apologetic interpretations and a clear lack of documentary evidence.

It is high time, for example, to publish the classified minutes of the Soviet-German negotiations, or provide well-documented evidence that they do not exist. The withholding of the answer puts us in an awkward, humiliating position.

We are taking a fresh look at the first postwar decade, the reasons for the breakdown of the anti-Hitler coalition, details of the formation of the "socialist camp".

Of interest in this connection are the ideas expressed by historian V. Dashichev in the Literary Gazette No. 20, 1988.

He writes about Stalin's great power ambitions.

In this context one can see in a different light the break with Yugoslavia (1948), the developments in Hungary and Poland in 1956, the sharp worsening of relations with China and Albania (the early 60s).

And this again brings up the issue of the archive documents, which should be taken off the classified list. Failing this, all the efforts of historians will be fruitless.

What is important is that the ice has been broken and Soviet foreign policy is becoming a subject of really scientific research.

An impetus for such research has been provided by the Theses for the 19th Party Conference. The document says that our foreign policy bears the stamp of a dogmatic and subjective approach, and there is apparently a wide scope for specific research into specific situations and decisions.

One potential field of research is the policy that brought Soviet troops into Afghanistan, as well as the history of recent warfare in that country.

It would be very useful to take a close look at documents on the entire history of the deployment of the SS-20 missiles, the zigzags of our negotiating tactics, to assess all the pros and cons and the final effect of the "SS-20 operation".

Lastly, a critical assessment of the past is necessary and useful. It is getting under way. The standards of research should be higher.

The current Soviet foreign policy should also be the subject of constant and objective scientific and journalistic analysis. It is all the more necessary because the Foreign Minister has brought up this point.

Restructuring's Foreign Policy Impact Examined
LD2406221788 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Restructuring and USSR foreign policy are the subject of a commentary by Stanislav Kondrashov, political observer of the newspaper IZVESTIYA.

[Kondrashov] Hello, comrades. Of the 10 CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference, only 1, the 10th, is devoted to foreign policy. It is discussed more rarely than the other 9. This indicates the extent to which we are all excited by the internal aspects of restructuring, and also that specialists on international affairs do, of course, constitute an insignificant minority of Soviet citizens. I think it also indicates that people are not accustomed to publicly discussing foreign policy or military-political issues, and they are not at all certain that anyone anywhere is prepared to listen to them.

Taking a critical look at our way of life, we can now see that, in the domain of foreign policy, our state mechanism has not been notable for its democratic nature. Afghanistan is, perhaps, the most dramatic example. Even the Supreme Soviet, the plenipotentiary organ of power, was unaccustomed to meaningful foreign policy discussions. Where, for instance, were its relevant commissions when our intermediate-range missiles were being deployed in ever-increasing numbers? Who stood up and said that was an invitation to bring the Pershings into Western Europe? The commissions set to work only when it was a matter of eliminating the missiles—ours as well as the U.S. ones—following the signing of the Washington treaty.

Other examples can be cited: purchases of grain abroad and sales of oil and gas. Figures and amounts were not specified. It did not occur to anyone to report on these matters to the people from lofty platforms. The situation is now changing. Here too, glasnost is clearing a path, but the mechanism of communications, information, and control still has a unique nature, as it were: it is not adjusted and does not function as automatically as it should in a law-governed state. It would be a good thing if the party conference touched on that point, too.

The Theses say that restructuring in the USSR has become a factor of worldwide importance. While still being totally objective, one can say that it has now become the main factor of international change. First, it has changed world perceptions of the Soviet Union for the better. Second, Soviet foreign policy has moved toward flexibility and constructiveness. It is, of course, hard to say what will happen in 5 or 10 years. Too many components are involved. So far, both the results already achieved and the fully-determined prospects for the nearest future give us, our friends, and our Western partners a feeling of optimism.

We know what U.S. President Reagan said in Moscow and after Moscow. Now, on the eve of the party conference, a combined response, to our restructuring and, if you like, to the CPSU Central Committee Theses has come from Toronto, from the industrial Group of 7. It seems interesting to me to compare two of the 7's political declarations—the Venezuela declaration of last July and the present, Toronto declaration. I quote from the Venezuela one: New opportunities have opened up for progress in East-West relations. We are following

with great interest the events in the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy. The tone is one of caution and expectation. The Toronto declaration, just 1 year later, notes not what is expected, but what has already happened and what is still happening. I quote: In several important respects, changes have occurred in relations between the Western countries and the Soviet Union. The United States and the Soviet Union have made progress by agreeing to reduce nuclear weapons. We welcome the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Needless to say, calls for vigilance are also featured here, and there is a list of disagreements—for example, over conventional weapons in Europe. There are also the traditional oaths of allegiance to nuclear containment. On the current section of the path, these oaths do not prevent us from moving together, albeit more slowly than we would wish, toward reducing strategic offensive weapons. Disagreements over conventional weapons can be completely resolved through dialogue. There is now no doubt as to the usefulness of dialogue either in the East or in the West.

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Reports 24 Jun Expulsion of Canadians

*PM2706110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4*

[“Protest to Canadian Side”—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] On 24 June Comrade Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, summoned Canadian Ambassador Turner to the USSR Foreign Ministry and drew his attention to the fact that the Canadian authorities had resorted to a new hostile action against official Soviet representatives in Ottawa, which is fraught with negative consequences for bilateral relations.

Regrettably, they failed to heed our advice to show a sense of responsibility and realism, or our warning that if the Canadian side further stokes the situation it can expect immediate additional retaliatory measures.

Judging by everything, the adoption of decisions of this kind reveals that the upper hand has been gained in Ottawa by forces guided by selfish aims with no regard for the interests of maintaining normal relations between the USSR and Canada.

The Soviet side, confirming the groundlessness of the accusations against Soviet officials in Canada of engaging in prohibited activities, resolutely protests the new provocative actions by the Canadian side. Canada must realize that it bears total responsibility for the serious consequences of these actions.

At the same time, the attention of the Canadian Embassy in Moscow is drawn to the fact that Canadian Defense Attache Colonel Bowen is engaged in activities incompatible with his official status. In connection with this, he is declared persona non grata and is expelled from the USSR. Seven former Canadian Embassy officials are also declared persona non grata: Jacques Drapeau, counselor; Van Drent [name as published], naval attache; Peter Leshchinsky [name as published], second secretary; Paul Meyer [name as published], first secretary; Michael Mays [name as published], first secretary; Francois Nado [name as published], third secretary; and Scott Hetherington, first secretary.

By way of measures in response, 25 Soviet officials working at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow on contract are recalled from there. The Canadian side is again informed that in the event it resorts to any further provocative steps aggravating the situation in bilateral relations, it will have to confront adequate countermeasures from our side. The ambassador said that the Soviet statement would be immediately conveyed to Ottawa.

VOA Charges on Afghanistan Criticized

*PM2706111788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: “Lies and Slander in the USIA’s Armory”]

[Text] Kabul, 26 Jun—On Friday VOA, mouthpiece of the USIA, put out another slanderous commentary “reflecting the viewpoint of the U.S. Government.” It claims that the Soviet forces pulling out of Afghanistan are leaving behind them a scene of devastation.

Enormous damage has indeed been done to Afghanistan. But by whom? The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan estimates that the economic damage caused by the counterrevolution exceeds 265 billion afghanis. Last year alone it amounted to nearly 60 billion afghanis. The rebels have destroyed 143 national economic facilities, nearly 2,000 schools, more than 3,300 trucks, over 2,180 utility poles, and 700 state buildings. The grim list of deeds perpetrated by the “irreconcilables” goes on. The country’s agriculture has suffered enormously—according to the data for 1988, losses are more than 24 billion afghanis.

The commentary places special emphasis on the Soviet forces’ mining of extensive areas of the country and it claims that the units of the limited contingent are not carrying out any mine-clearing operations as they leave these areas. U.S. Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost has joined in the slander campaign, accusing the USSR and Afghanistan of “immoral” behavior. And to shock credulous listeners to the core, blood-curdling instances are cited of the mining of civilians’ homes and even mosques and Afghan corpses, allegedly left behind after the Soviet soldiers’ departure.

Let us clarify the situation. As Lieutenant Colonel N.V. Leonov, senior officer in the engineers’ department of the limited contingent of Soviet forces, told a TASS correspondent, mining was carried out around the places where Soviet garrisons and posts were deployed. During the withdrawal of personnel and equipment, all the minefields were completely eliminated. This is obligatory practice. Of the 2,131 minefields laid, 1,518 had been eliminated by the end of May and more than 100 had been handed over to the Afghan side; there are documents to corroborate this. UN observers in Kabul were also notified of this. On the other hand, essentially all the armed formations of the “irreconcilable opposition” have laid foreign-made mines in extensive areas around their bases, centers, and dumps and have also mined the approaches to them. Rebel groups have been particularly assiduous in mining major highways to prevent the movement of national economic freight and food within the framework of Soviet assistance to the population in many areas of Afghanistan. For instance, on 24 June, in the neighborhood of the Kabul-Jalalabad Highway, 10 Afghan citizens were blown up and killed in a controlled minefield laid by a gang of “irreconcilables.”

During the Gardeyz-Khowst operation in early February, many foreign correspondents were able to see how many mines had been laid by the "irreconcilables." Some 1,100 mines were cleared from one 900-meter section of the highway. They photographed deadly fougasses "Made in Italy," "Made in the USA," and in other Western countries and were able to see that there were no Soviet-made mines among them. In 8 years, a total of nearly 34,000 antitank mines, 19,000 antipersonnel mines, and around 5,000 fougasses have been cleared.

The transatlantic propagandists are endeavoring not only to slander the Soviet internationalist troops, but also to whitewash the counterrevolutionary gangs.

Gerasimov Attacks Charges

*LD2506193288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 25 Jun 88*

[Text] A briefing was held in Moscow today at the main press center of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aboymov made a speech in which he welcomed the signing of the declaration on establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC. Comrade Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate then made a speech. He read out a statement from the USSR Foreign Ministry on Afghanistan:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Unfortunately, one has to note that the forces making a dirty political business out of torpedoing the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements and fanning the flames of a psychological war against the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are continuing their propaganda sallies. An example of this is a commentary from the Voice of America on 24 June of this year, a commentary, by the way, that was said to express the point of view of the U.S. Government.

Grossly distorting the facts, the Voice of America is trying nothing less than to shift all the responsibility onto the Soviet Union for the sufferings of the Afghan people as a result of waging the undeclared war against it by the armed opposition, and is attributing to us those treacherous, evil terrorist acts being committed by anti-government groupings against the civilian Afghan population. The main point at issue is the mass mine-laying and booby traps on Afghan territory. We have already on several occasions, on the basis of numerous specific facts, shown the world public who is really putting mines on the roads, planting them in homes, mosques, and public places, and scattering toys stuffed with explosives. We have also shown footage on television on which the so-called freedom fighters have been caught red-handed at the scene of their evil crimes, including at the site of booby traps.

What can be said regarding the continuing shelling of Kabul and other Afghan towns and populated areas with rockets? At the same time there are no facts, as there could not possibly be any, that Soviet soldiers are behind

such criminal acts. It is quite obvious that all the slanderous insinuations against the Soviet limited contingent of servicemen are intended not only to hush up the crimes of the rebels, but also to divert world public opinion away from the problems related to achieving an all-embracing Afghan settlement, and Pakistan's gross violation of the Geneva agreements. [end recording]

U.S. Obstructing Settlement in Afghanistan

*LD2506142888 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 25 Jun 88*

[Text] Washington is continuing to debate the issue of the nature and level of relations with the so-called government in exile, the creation of which has been announced by the Afghan opposition leaders' headquarters in the Pakistani city of Peshawar. This discussion has been initiated by the leaders of both factions in the Senate, Democrat Robert Byrd and Republican Robert Dole, who have demanded that a special envoy be sent to Pakistan. Aleksandr Pogodin comments, and this is what he writes:

This pace has clearly put the U.S. authorities in an embarrassing situation. As it is known, Washington and Kabul maintain diplomatic relations, so the dispatch of an ambassador to Peshawar would be a flagrant violation of international law. Even a State Department message notes with explicit regret that it is too early to raise the issue of the recognition of the Peshawar opposition group as an interim government and send a special envoy. The State Department describes such actions as particularly improper at a time when the Soviet Union has been scrupulously complying with the commitments on troops withdrawal assumed in Geneva.

It may seem that political responsibility and elementary common sense prevail at last. But that is not so. The State Department's message declares the intention to make the United States ambassador's special advisor for Afghan affairs in Pakistan responsible for contact with the Peshawar opposition. He is to handle the problems of coordinated actions and aid to the self-styled government. This amounts to an awkward attempt to observe purely superficial, diplomatic, and legal conventions because, in fact, the essence of the matter remains unchanged. And above all, the essence of the matter is that the United States is clearly trying to use every opportunity to create obstacles to a political settlement in Afghanistan. There has been no let up in the supply of arms for the opposition forces, while American instructors have been training the armed units of rebels in Pakistan.

As you can see, attempts are being made to exploit the chances that have opened up as much as possible and put the Peshawar government at Washington's service. And Washington, as all shows, prefers to forget that when the United States and the USSR acted as guarantors of the agreement on a settlement over Afghanistan in Geneva

they pledged to refrain in every way from interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. Nothing can justify the breach of these commitments.

TASS Analyst Comments on Pentagon 'Scandal'
LD2306224088 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT
23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov:

Some sort of a sentimental atmosphere, which emerged in Toronto by the end of the summit meeting of the major capitalist nations, was marred by new reports on a major row in the Pentagon in connection with the distribution of orders among contractors.

Although the numerous correspondents, who arrived in Toronto, literally pelted the President with questions about what after all happened in Washington, they were clearly dissatisfied by the answer of the President that he was "disappointed" at what had happened. The disillusionment of the correspondent, which reflects in a measure the views of American and world public, is quite understandable. The reverberations of the "Irangate" scandal have not yet fully subsided in Washington's horizon. A few days ago a report was published on instituting criminal proceedings against one more participant in that affair and now the newspapers carry numerous reports on the upcoming criminal proceedings in the new scandalous affair against at least 70 government officials and private persons, and that at least 270 persons have been summoned to court. It looks like the scale of the new affair around the Pentagon will be not smaller than around the "Iran-contras" affair. It is noteworthy also that there is very much in common in both these scandals. Thus, for example, it has been established that high-ranking administration officials had information about the unlawful actions by the Pentagon senior executives but nevertheless left them without attention.

The press mentions among such high-placed persons the names of Attorney General Edwin Meese, former Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of the Navy John Lehman. Although reports on that are refuted, American public remembers how at the start of the investigation into "Irangate" similar reports were also refuted. Yet, in the final analysis, they proved to be true. Apart from the unlawful actions by government officials, facts were registered of their personal enrichment in both cases. Both scandals are proof that corruption and swindle have struck deep root in such important American offices as the Pentagon, the CIA and even the White House staff. At the same time there are some distinctions from the scandal with the military contracts from "Irangate". This is due, in particular, to the fact that the upcoming investigation, as the U.S. press said, will involve also some congressmen. Mention is made of Congressmen Andy Ireland, Samuel Stratton and

Thomas Downey. Thus the latest Washington scandal concerns the members not only of executive, but also of legislative authorities, hence the question put to the President at the press conference in Toronto about who, in the final analysis, is responsible for that, seems to be quite sensible. Today this question has remained unanswered, but perhaps the public will get an answer to it in the course of the investigation.

U.S. Military Technology Transfer Case Viewed
LD2506222988 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov reports:

At Baltimore-Washington International Airport the United States authorities detained five people accusing them of the attempt to take out of the United States classified composite materials used in the military industry, specifically, to produce bodies of warheads for tactical missiles. Among those detained is an officer of the military purchasing mission of the Arab Republic of Egypt in the United States, another two Egyptian diplomats and also employees of U.S. private companies.

The case in itself is not noteworthy by anything. Any state has the right to protect its military secrets. It is only the dressing with which they in Washington tried to serve up this case that has a very specific smack. A spokesman for the U.S. Justice Department said that at point was a serious attempt to violate U.S. export laws by the state considered to be friendly, and pointed out that the authorities would treat the case most seriously.

But in the righteous anguish the American authorities have utterly forgotten that by far more costly composite materials just as the technology for their production were supplied to another "friendly" country in the Middle East in developing the blueprints of the Lavi fighter-bomber, which raised so much noise.

They have also forgotten that Lavi itself was developed in close collaboration with American corporations which transferred to Tel Aviv the latest military technology and the most favoured nation status was given to the state of Israel in the military field, which is usually enjoyed by the NATO member countries.

Lastly, they have forgotten that Lavi itself and many other ambitious projects of Israeli generals are implemented on the money of the American taxpayers who paid as many as \$2.5 billion only for one Lavi project and the U.S. aid annually given for acquiring advanced military technology reached \$5 billion last year.

The reasons behind this "forgetfulness" are not in American senior officials' deficient memory. The matter is that in this case it plays into their hands. Bolstering the military might of Israel and preserving its preponderance

over neighbouring Arab countries not only corresponds to the strategic course of the U.S. policy in the Middle East but also is a component of this course.

This is exactly why the export of U.S. military hardware and technology even to Arab countries which maintain close ties with the United States runs up against hurdles in the U.S. Congress and in various links of the U.S. Administration.

Dobrynin Meets U.S. Business Council Official
*LD2306211688 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT
23 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received today James Giffen, president of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council (ASTEC) at his request.

James Giffen told him that the Soviet-American summit had met with broad response in the American business circles. They believe that its main results is a substantial contribution that it made to a further improvement of a whole atmosphere of the relations between the two countries, which creates favourable conditions for a perceptible advance in trade and economic cooperation.

Both Dobrynin and Giffen are of the opinion that it is important today not to miss those opportunities, to settle quickly and radically practical questions connected with the implementation of measures and agreements outlined here, especially the realization of agreements dealing with the creation of Soviet-American trade consortiums. The sides pointed out a positive significance in this respect of a speech of Mikhail Gorbachev before a large group of American businessmen, participants in an annual ASTEC conference in Moscow last spring.

Majority in U.S. Poll Prefers Gorbachev
*LD2506124688 Moscow TASS in English 0637 GMT
25 Jun 88*

[Text] Washington June 25 TASS—The Washington-based research organization "Media Monitor" has issued the findings of the analysis made by it of the coverage by U.S. television of the events in connection with the Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow, and the influence of the events and TV programmes on American public.

The "Media Monitor" has polled almost a hundred individual TV viewers from various sections of the society. Proceeding from the 100-point system of the appraisal of the activities by the leaders of the two countries at the meeting, including the press conference statements an overwhelming majority of the polled gave preference to Mikhail Gorbachev (76 per cent with 46 per cent for Reagan).

The report on the findings says that the results of the Moscow meeting have left a favourable impact on most Americans who declare for further talks and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Pamphlet on U.S.-Soviet Summit Published
*LD2506014988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 24 Jun 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Politicheskaya Literatura Publishing House has published in a large print run a collection of documents and materials entitled: "The Soviet-U.S. Summit meeting, Moscow 29 May-2 June 1988." The collection includes speeches by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, reports on meetings and talks between the leaders of the two countries, about the U.S. President's stay in the capital, the press conferences, and the joint statement from the Moscow summit. The collection has been printed by the Krasnyy Proletariy Printing House.

The NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY has simultaneously published material and documents relating to the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in English, German, French, and Spanish. [video shows cover of pamphlet, photographs it contains, and foreign language editions]

Philadelphia Ceremony Greets Peace Marchers
*LD2606112588 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT
26 Jun 88*

[Text] Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) June 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Maksim Knyazkov:

A noisy colourful carnival took place in the streets of one of the most ancient neighbourhoods of Philadelphia. A brass band wearing costumes of the 17th century played marches and popular dancing tunes. Clowns and jugglers performed at the street crossings. There was also a fancy dress performance.

This is the way the inhabitants of Philadelphia welcomed the participants in the Soviet-American "March for Peace" who arrived in the city's historical centre to participate in an anti-war action.

I am extremely glad to welcome here citizens of the USSR and the USA, Philadelphia's Mayor Wilson Goode told the audience. We should get to know one another as people having common concerns, troubles and wishes. And I hope that we are undertaking a new memorable meeting today.

Briefs

Film Accord With U.S.

Washington June 23 TASS—TASS correspondent I. Barsukov reports: The signing of a protocol of understanding between the USSR State Committee on Cinematography and the American Guild of Film Directors took place at the Soviet Embassy on Wednesday. The document provides for holding film festivals in each country next spring. This exchange will be the first inter-government event of this type since 1959. It is planned to put on the festival programmes 10 best films shot by Soviet and American film makers in the past three years. They will be shown in five Soviet and U.S. cities. [Text] [LD2406023788 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 23 Jun 88]

China

Shevardnadze Receives Envoy Tian Zengpei
OW2506114888 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] On Monday in Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze received Tian Zengpei, special envoy of the Chinese Government to the Soviet-Chinese political consultations, who is also PRC vice minister of foreign affairs.

The Soviet foreign minister briefed the Chinese envoy on the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union. He also proposed that further efforts be made to strengthen good-neighborly relations, mutually beneficial cooperation, and trust in each other and to expand political dialogues and raise their level.

On the Cambodian issue, Shevardnadze noted that a new situation is taking shape, one that is opening up good prospects for the settlement of the issue. The Soviet foreign minister pointed out: The Soviet Union hopes that reconciliation will be reached with regard to the Cambodian situation, and that peaceful, stable, and good-neighborly relations will be established in Southeast Asia as soon as possible. The Soviet Union will do its best to accelerate this process.

Tian Zengpei commented favorably on the ongoing reforms in the Soviet Union and expounded on his country's views on certain international issues, including views on solving the conflict in Indochina.

Another round of Soviet-Chinese political consultations ended in Moscow on 20 June. The two sides agreed to hold a third meeting of Soviet and Chinese Government delegations to the talks on border issues in October 1988 in Moscow. The next, that is the 13th, round of Soviet-Chinese political consultations will be held in April-May 1989 in Beijing.

Northeast Asia

Reportage on Visit by Japanese Deputy Minister

Received by Shevardnadze
LD2506093588 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, received on Friday Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama. The conversation covered topical international issues and Soviet-Japanese relations. The Japanese diplomat arrived in Moscow in connection with the holding of consultations between the Foreign Ministries of the USSR and Japan at the level of deputy foreign ministers.

Takakazu Kuriyama said that the Japanese Government appraises highly the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles providing for the elimination of such missiles worldwide and sees it as the first step towards real nuclear disarmament.

Eduard Shevardnadze drew the attention of the Japanese deputy foreign minister to the Soviet programme of lowering military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region prompted by new political thinking. In that context the importance was stressed of the Soviet initiative put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok, and the Soviet initiatives at the current special session on disarmament of the U.N. General Assembly, in particular concerning the limitation of naval activities in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It was stressed that the Soviet Union is prepared to discuss these issues specifically with all countries, including with Japan.

The Soviet foreign minister reaffirmed the Soviet Union's invariable policy of developing the relations of goodneighbourliness and broad cooperation with Japan on conditions of equality, mutual benefit and without any preliminary strings attached. The need was stressed for displaying proper responsibility so as to preserve in Soviet-Japanese relations the "new growth" of the good, which remains fragile so far.

Takakazu Kuriyama said that the Japanese leadership attaches much significance to relations with the Soviet Union, its important neighbour, and intends to make every effort for developing them in various fields, including the level of political dialogue.

In connection with the so-called "territorial issues" touched upon by the Japanese diplomat, he was told that the putting forward of that problem by the Japanese side and even more so the wish to lend to it an international character meets with protests of Soviet people and is in conflict with the interests of developing goodneighbourliness and cooperation between our countries. In the exchange of views on further contacts at the level of

foreign ministers of the USSR and Japan understanding was reached that the next meeting of the ministers will be held in New York during the session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Takakazu Kuriyama delivered to Eduard Shevardnadze a verbal message from Japanese minister of foreign affairs Sosuke Uno.

Possible Visit to Japan

*OW2406151588 Tokyo KYODO in English
1412 GMT 24 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow, June 24 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told a high-level Japanese diplomat on Friday that he will decide the date of his visit to Japan after meeting Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno in New York in late September.

Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama of Japan agreed to Shevardnadze's proposal, Japanese officials said.

Foreign ministers of Japan and the Soviet Union meet annually in New York while attending a regular session of the United Nations General Assembly in autumn.

Japan has repeatedly called for Shevardnadze's visit to Tokyo to resume a regular round of foreign minister meetings.

Shevardnadze last came to Tokyo in January 1986. Four months later, then Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe went to Moscow.

Kuriyama, here to attend a high-level consultation with the Soviet Union on Thursday and Friday, paid a visit to Shevardnadze at the Soviet Foreign Ministry and conveyed Uno's verbal message calling for Shevardnadze's visit, the officials said.

Uno's message expressed his wish to meet Shevardnadze in Tokyo by the end of this year, discuss a territorial dispute between the two countries, and set the date of a visit by Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Japan, the officials said.

Despite Japan's repeated invitations, no top Soviet leader has ever visited Japan after World War II.

The Soviet foreign minister, approving Kuriyama's bid for a continuation of political dialogue between Japan and the Soviet Union, urged him to convey to Uno a sincere Soviet will toward building a friendly and dynamic relationship with Tokyo.

Shevardnadze urged the Japanese Government to take responsible action against what he called a trend in Japan fanning anti-Soviet sentiment, the officials said.

Kuriyama told Shevardnadze that no Japanese Government official under the leadership of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has made irresponsible remarks.

The senior Japanese diplomat expressed concern about a steady Soviet military buildup in the Far East in the past two decades.

Kuriyama welcomed the abolition of all Soviet intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) weapons from Soviet Asia under the INF elimination treaty with the United States, the officials said.

Consultations Extended

*OW2406153388 Tokyo KYODO in English
1505 GMT 24 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow, June 24 KYODO—High-level Japanese and Soviet diplomats agreed Friday to meet again on Monday to continue their consultations, Japanese Embassy officials said Friday.

Deputy Foreign Ministers Takakazu Kuriyama of Japan and Igor Rogachev of the Soviet Union will discuss preparations for a September meeting between their foreign ministers in New York, the officials said.

Kuriyama and Rogachev were originally scheduled to conclude the two-day regular session Saturday.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, meeting Kuriyama at the Foreign Ministry Friday, proposed to meet his Japanese counterpart Sosuke Uno while attending a regular session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York in late September.

Logochev Views Marine Exercises on Okinawa

*OW2506100788 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia
1200 GMT 23 Jun 88*

[Logochev commentary]

[Text] Despite opposition by local residents, U.S. Marines have started their exercise on Okinawa, Japan. Station observer Logochev writes the following in this connection:

U.S. troops deployed on Okinawa, Japan, have habitually regarded themselves as the masters of other people's land for a long time. Many fertile areas have been forcibly seized and used for U.S. military bases in Japan. U.S. Air Force jets boom day and night over farm households and warships flying the Stars and Stripes often anchor in Japanese harbors, including naval vessels carrying nuclear weapons.

Americans like Okinawa. Despite protests by local residents, U.S. Marines are conducting training exercises in overcoming water barriers. A reservoir near Higashi Village has been chosen as such a water barrier. It is not

an ordinary lake but the main source of drinking water for people on Okinawa. It is not hard to imagine how the water in the reservoir will be affected after U.S. Marines cross the reservoir.

U.S. troops are stationed in Japan according to the so-called Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. It is this treaty that makes it possible for the guests from the other side of the Pacific to throw all restraint to the wind on Japanese territory. For example, they completely disregard the protests and statements adopted by the Okinawan Prefectural Government, as well as the governing organs of a number of cities, villages, and towns, against the U.S. Marine exercise.

Meanwhile, more and more Japanese people advocate abrogating the Japan-U.S. military treaty. The Japan-U.S. military alliance is a threat to peace in Asia. Under this slogan, a number of mammoth demonstrations were recently held in Tokyo. The Tokyo-Washington military alliance and the presence of American soldiers on Japanese territory do the Japanese people no good at all. The U.S. Marine exercise on Okinawa has once again proved this point.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Council of Ministers Greet SRV's Do Muoi

*BK2406090988 Moscow International Service
in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 23 Jun 88*

[Message of greetings from Soviet Council of Ministers to Do Muoi, Chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, on his election; date not given]

[Text] Dear esteemed Comrade Do Muoi: We extend our sincere congratulations to you, comrade, on your election as chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

We wish you, comrade, great achievements and success in this important government position.

The Soviet Union resolutely supports the efforts of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam], the government, and the working people of Vietnam to implement the line of renovation laid down by the Sixth CPV Congress in all fields of social activities. The implementation of this line will certainly contribute to successfully implementing Vietnam's various socioeconomic development tasks in order to advance the country along the creative socialist path.

We are convinced that the friendly relationship and the all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam will constantly be consolidated for the benefit of our two peoples and for the cause of peace and social progress.

Hun Sen Cited on Cambodian Situation

*LD2506192688 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT
25 Jun 88*

[Text] Phnom Penh June 25 TASS—The Pol Potians and forces which support them still remain the main obstacle to a new round of bilateral talks with Prince Norodom Sihanouk and to an unofficial meeting of four Kampuchean sides in Djakarta, Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), has stated here.

He received a visiting delegation of the parliamentary association of Japanese-Vietnamese friendship, led by the association's chairman Mr Sakurachi.

The Kampuchean leader pointed out that the PRK supported the main accords reached between Indonesia and Vietnam in Ho Chi Minh City about a meeting in Djakarta. "Nevertheless some countries go on trying to turn an unofficial meeting between the Kampuchean sides into a dialogue between Vietnam and the tri-partite coalition, or between Vietnam and Sihanouk".

"This may lead to a new deadlock", he pointed out. "On the other hand", Hun Sen went on to say, "up to now the PRK did not receive an invitation from Indonesia to participate in the unofficial meeting. Such meeting could not have taken place without the PRK's participation".

"A political settlement should guarantee the impossibility of Pol Pot's return to power. The Kampuchean people cannot accept such a political settlement under which the Pol Potians would return to power".

Hun Sen recalled that two recent meetings with Sihanouk mapped out a way out of the deadlock and led to accord between the two sides on some principled matters. He voiced regret in connection with the prince's refusal to resume the dialogue. The PRK supports Sihanouk's initiative to hold a meeting between the Kampuchean sides under the auspices of the leaders of the Nonaligned Movement.

"Despite the fact that the Japanese Government supports the so-called coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, a large number of Japanese tourists and businessmen have visited the PRK, which facilitates the establishment of relations between the two countries. The Kampuchean side hopes that the Japanese Government will take a more realistic stand on the Kampuchean problem".

Near East & South Asia

Rockets Hit Kabul; Other Rebel Activities Cited

Afghan Forces' Countermeasures

*LD2406111788 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT
24 Jun 88*

[Text] Kabul June 24 TASS—The Afghan extremists again fired rockets into Kabul this morning. Four rockets exploded in residential areas wounding one woman and

damaging a house. One of the shells dropped on the Kabul airfield, causing a fire that was put out by airfield services. Special units of the Afghan Armed Forces are adopting measures to eliminate the bands responsible for the bombardment.

A member of the anti-government Hezb-e Eslami organisation, identified as Alihan, died yesterday when an explosive device that he was trying to smuggle into a Kabul bazaar went off. Two bystanders were wounded. Also yesterday extremists fired fifty rockets at the Naglu Hydropower Station in Kabul Province, killing three and wounding two persons. Two power transmission lines were damaged.

As reported by BAKHTAR News Agency, the Republic's Armed Forces continue to firmly retain the initiative in the area of hostilities in Spin Buldak District (Qandahar Province) and near the town of Qalat (Zabol Province). In recent days alone they killed 265 extremists, wounded about the same number and liquidated several fortified positions of irreconcilable opposition groups. A band of terrorists was routed also in Helmand Province. Tens of terrorists were killed or wounded, four were taken prisoner and large quantities of arms and ammunition were seized.

BAKHTAR agency also reports that ten inmates were released from prison in Konduz in accordance with a decree on amnesty. Contrary to obstacles put up by Pakistani authorities up to 200 refugees have returned to Nangarhar Province from Pakistan during the past 24 hours. On June 17 Pakistani police with the help of an armed detachment of Afghan "irreconcilables" stopped in the area of Badan (near Asadabad) a big group of refugees who were returning to Afghanistan.

'Foreign Advisers' Infiltrate

LD2406142088 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT
24 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 24 TASS—Foreign advisers as well as journalists are continuing to be infiltrated into Afghanistan from Pakistan. According to reports reaching here, a group of foreign cameramen is now operating in Vardaq Province in the encampment of detachments of "irreconcilables" and filming their attacks against government troops.

A group of military advisers consisting of citizens of the United States, France, the PRC, Pakistan, Iran and also your representatives of Arab countries, entered Afghanistan from Pakistan/early in May and joined several armed formations of the "Islamic Party" and "Movement of the Islamic Revolution" formations in Zabol Province. Their task is to create new command posts, coordinate the actions of the opposition's armed detachments in Qandahar and Oruzgan Provinces, train members of these detachments in the use of ground-to-ground missiles and also pay cash bonuses to the commanders of these detachments for effective attacks.

These advisers regularly report the situation to representatives of their countries in Pakistan. Detachments of the "Islamic Party", "Movement of the Islamic Revolution" and "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" have been paid more than 25 million afghani to build an air strip in Sorkhak District, Zabol Province. According to available information about 40 members of the armed opposition were killed or wounded when the Afghan Air Force raided the command post of the "irreconcilables" in Kuzebid and Ramazanali Districts. Two French advisers were also killed.

Pakistan's Armed Forces are taking part in supporting combat operations by the opposition in Spin Buldak District. This is evidenced by the deployment in Chorghul and Dikahul of artillery guns capable of shelling Spin Buldak. Several batteries of anti-aircraft guns have been deployed at the Chaman railway station.

Highway Routes 'Tense'

LD2406224188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Afghanistan by television correspondent M. Leshchinskiy—identified by screen caption]

[Text] This place—the headquarters of the limited contingent of our forces in Afghanistan—is special. The pulse of the main Afghan highways beats nervously here. [video shows soldiers in room answering phones, walls of room covered in maps] The central dispatch point receives information about the movement of convoys carrying the most diverse freight. It receives information about all accidents and piratic attacks by terrorist groups. Communication is constantly maintained with guard points and posts, and now not just with Soviet posts.

On the roads leading south and east from Kabul, the places of Soviet troops have already been taken by Afghan servicemen. But the central dispatch point extends assistance to them also.

The situation along the routes remains tense. It is rare here on the roadsides to encounter a person without a weapon. Incidentally, one does not always know against whom the weapon may be directed. On the near and distant approaches to the highways there are a large number of armed anti-government groups. Often they clash with one another and with regular units. Many sections of the roads have been assigned to the protection of local defense forces. As a rule these are people who have recently decided to break with the armed opposition. [video shows group of Afghans, some shown in closeup] Among such people is the group of Muhammad Omars, who recently belonged to the Jamiyat-e Eslami Afghanistan party, of which Rabbani is the

leader. Of course, the most important thing is not why these people have redirected their weapons in the opposite direction. The most important thing is for peace to draw closer in this country.

However, the opposition is strong and active. Colonel Babrak, deputy head of the Directorate for State Security in Kabul Province, told us that since the conclusion of the Geneva agreements there has been a considerable increase in the dispatch of underground terrorist groups from Pakistan. Peshawar gives them everything. After all, the task of these underground people is terror, brainwashing the population, and instilling the idea among the people that the Kabul regime is weak and will inevitably fall after the departure of the Soviet troops, and that those who cooperate with the present authorities will inescapably perish. This does of course have an effect on many people, but, as you can see, even from today's reportage this does not by any means apply to everyone.

More on Kabul Shellings

LD2406203888 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT
24 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 24 TASS—TASS correspondents Oleg Kuzmin and Yuriy Tyssovski report:

This morning gangs of Hezb-e Eslami (The Islamic Party of Afghanistan) and Jamiat-e Eslami (the Islamic Society of Afghanistan) fired with rockets at residential quarters of the Afghan capital, causing destruction. There are wounded. One of the rockets hit the territory of the Kabul airfield, causing a fire which it took the airfield services two hours to extinguish. Special units of the Afghan Armed Forces take measures to eliminate bands that fired at Kabul.

The TASS correspondents visited the area of the airfield and witnessed the indignation of ordinary Afghan people at the vicious deeds of mercenaries from the so-called "irreconcilable opposition". "Extremists fire mainly at districts where peaceful people live", said Aminullah, the owner of a small shop. "They do not care whom their rockets might hit. They are unmoved by the blood and tears of ordinary people of Kabul. I heard today that a woman was wounded. Do bandits really think that she can harm them?" Another resident of the Afghan capital, peasant Mahmud Baraki said this: "A rocket hit the airfield today. My plot of land adjoins the airfield. My blood runs cold when I think that had the rocket landed several hundred metres to the side then it would explode in the place where my family has been working since early in the morning. I think the terrorists have realised that they are powerless against the Army and now vent their anger on peaceful Afghans".

Today is Friday. The day of rest for the Muslim population. The city lives its normal life, though the clouds of smoke over the airfield, that were scattered by now,

caused certain concern of the people. Central streets are crowded, the traffic functions normally, there is busy trade in bazaars of the capital.

What can explain the reckless actions of the extremist elements that got entrenched in Peshawar across the border with Pakistan, those who back them? It is held in the informed circles of the Afghan capital that the "irreconcilable opposition" is unable to take more scopeful actions than such acts of (?terror). This is why they resort to strafing which mainly cause civilian casualties—kill women, children, old people—or to separate armed raids so as to keep the situation in the country tense. Leader of the extremist part of the opposition Gulbuddin Hikmatyar made so many promises of success. He boasted that Jalalabad, the first city from which Soviet troops were withdrawn, will fall early in June, but it holds out, just as Qandahar, Khowst and Herat, where the process of the consolidation of people's power, strengthening of combat potentials of the Afghan Army takes place. Armed units of the opposition paid dearly for the attempt to seize Qalat. Those elements of the opposition that are capable of a sober analysis of the situation come to realize this. Many of their representatives are holding now, just as earlier, negotiations with the government on terms of their joining in the policy of national reconciliation, and the leaders declare against pointless terror and fire at populated localities. Meanwhile the extremists resort to brigandage to repay their keep and are ready to commit any crimes mainly in order to frustrate such talks and torpedo the policy of national reconciliation. These are futile efforts.

Rebel Convoy Reported

LD2506105188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] We have already told listeners about the tragic details of the shelling of Kabul yesterday by the Afghan counterrevolutionaries. We have also dealt with the issue of attempts to frustrate the national reconciliation policy.

Here is a new report: Groups of the armed opposition in Pakistan have received an order to transfer as soon as possible to Afghanistan the weapons and ammunition issued to them. The first convoy has already left the territory of Pakistan.

U.S., Pakistani 'Intervention' in Afghanistan

U.S. Plans for Rebel Envoy

PM2606094388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 88 Second Edition p 7

[A. Lyuty "Rejoinder": "Destabilization Envoy...."]

[Text] This is not the first time. As soon as events start getting out of U.S. control in any part of the world, Washington urgently dispatches a courier there with the

rank of special envoy. Publicly he is concerned about the interests of the region, but in his practical actions he pushes the U.S. version of a "settlement."

We will refrain from far-reaching parallels, but something similar can be seen in the U.S. approach to events in Afghanistan. The White House and the State Department are examining the question of appointing a special envoy. They state that the administration is very concerned with the inadequate quality and fullness of information which it is receiving on the development of the situation in the country, the dynamics of the Soviet troop withdrawal, and the position in opposition circles. A special representative is allegedly meant to rectify the situation.

But they want to send him not to Kabul but to Islamabad or Peshawar, to be closer to the mujahidin. And information gathering is clearly not his primary role. As the initiators of this mission—Senate majority and minority leaders R. Byrd and R. Dole—directly suggest in a letter to Secretary of State G. Shultz, it would be the envoy's job above all to "monitor" the activities of the armed opposition and to correspondingly "coordinate" U.S. policy. In other words, Washington is no longer prepared to be satisfied with just continuing to send the opposition weapons and threatening the pace of the Soviet troop withdrawal. It is now not averse to placing the opposition leadership at a higher political level and obtaining a lever with which to directly influence the political evolution of Afghanistan after the Soviet troop withdrawal. Yet this is a direct violation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. The Declaration of International Guarantees signed by the heads of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments contains a pledge to "unswervingly refrain from interference and intervention in Afghanistan's internal affairs in any form...."

The question of appointing an envoy attached to the insurgents has not yet been finally decided. There are people who seriously fear that such an official representative could turn up with the opposition gangs on Afghan territory and receive the dubious honor of being captured. Others are worried that he might become involved in internal feuds within insurgent circles. But I think we should be concerned about a much more extensive and dangerous level of involvement—interference in the affairs of another sovereign state. That is why, as a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated the other day, the reports about the possible appointment of an envoy attached to the armed opposition are astonishing.

Afghan Envoy Briefs Press

LD2406203988 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT
24 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—They in Pakistan are mistaken when they think that only one part of the Geneva accords—the Soviet troop withdrawal—will be implemented while Islamabad can ignore the obligations assumed. The Pakistani side should take appropriate

measures to put an end to interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs from the Pakistani territory. Otherwise Afghanistan will regard itself as having a right to act in accordance with the requirements of the situation, said Ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union Muhammadollah Safi.

Speaking today at a press conference in the Embassy of the Republic of Afghanistan in Moscow, he said that the supplies of armaments from Pakistan to rebels, far from being reduced, went up several times over. And it is the most up-to-date armaments that are supplied to them. They include "ground-to-ground" missiles with a range of over 30 km. Afghan cities and villages were shelled with such missiles 30 times from June 18 to June 20 alone. There are killed and wounded.

The training of terrorists continues in the territory of Pakistan, the ambassador said. Training centres and depots remain on Pakistan's territory. The Pakistani secret service instigate extremists to raids on Kabul and other cities. Islamabad takes actions to interfere with the voluntary return of Afghans home. "All these actions mean a gross violation of the Geneva accords and interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan", the ambassador said.

Answering questions from newsmen, Muhammadollah Safi said that Washington's intention to send its diplomatic representative to the so-called "Afghan government in exile" runs counter to the United States obligations stemming from its status of a guarantor of the Geneva accords. That "government" has no [words indistinct] and no backing of the population. Those who created it and are its patrons contradict the course at national reconciliation endorsed by the Afghan people and oppose the creation of relations of confidence and cooperation in the region.

The ambassador emphasized that Afghanistan's international situation improved considerably as a result of signing of the Geneva accords, that its relations with Arab countries, specifically, improved. He is of the opinion that there are real opportunities also for the improvement of Afghan-Chinese relations.

U.S. Role in Rebel 'Government'

LD2606100288 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—TASS, political news analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

Agreements must be observed. It is hardly possible that the Islamabad and Washington officials are unaware of this basic principle of the international law. However, the steps taken by the U.S. Administration and the Ziaul Haq regime after the signing of the agreements on Afghanistan in Geneva show that they at least disregard this fundamental principle of the international relations.

Under a bilateral Afghan-Pakistani agreement on principles of their relations, Pakistan pledged to refrain from promoting, encouraging or supporting, directly or indirectly, insurgent or separatist actions against Afghanistan under whatever pretext, or from other actions aimed at undermining unity or overthrowing a political system of the neighbouring country. However, all the actions of the Ziaul Haq regime show that it tramples this pledge every day, if not every hour.

The Islamabad regime further steps up the transportation of weapons to Afghanistan for the continuation of the armed struggle in that country. Pakistani authorities encourage in every way the actions of armed units of the "Alliance of the Seven" and coordinate their combat operations. According to CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, representatives of the Pakistani military intelligence service exert pressure on the leaders of the armed Afghan opposition trying to make them start a major offensive on Kabul.

The smuggling to Afghanistan of foreign advisers and instructors has not stopped. Moreover, it is being stepped up. Their task is to create command posts, to coordinate actions of armed groups, to teach them the handling of "ground-to-ground" missiles and to ensure financial support to the mercenaries—all this in violation of the Geneva accords. Another of their tasks is to inform their representatives of their 'accomplishments' in the undermining of the accords. However, the thing is that neither the instructors nor their 'pupils' have any real accomplishments to their credit. During a month that has elapsed since the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan serious blows were dealt at the extremists by the Afghan Armed Forces. 524 extremists were killed, some 700 gravely wounded and dozens of them were taken prisoner. The Armed Forces of Afghanistan firmly hold the initiative in the areas of combat operations in the Spin Buldak District, Qandahar Province, and the city of Qalat, Zabol Province, whose alleged 'capture' was hurriedly announced by Islamabad.

Jalalabad was not captured by the extremists either early in June, as was promised by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, one of the extremists' leaders. Angry at the failure of their plans, the extremists take revenge for it on the civilian population of the republic and subject it to senseless terror.

Guarantees to refrain absolutely from the intervention in any form in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, looks no better in this respect. The journal NATION reported that during the several weeks in which the agreements on Afghanistan were concluded in Geneva, the U.S. supplied the insurgents through Pakistan with 600-700 million dollars worth of armaments. Later on 350-450 million dollars worth of armaments were transported to Pakistan by C-130 planes. Washington officials, for example, Zalmay Khalilzad, coordinator of the U.S.

Department of State for Afghanistan, brought to Peshawar where leaders of the 'Alliance' have found refuge a message of the White House which openly suggested that the insurgents form a so-called 'transitional government' opposing the Kabul government.

There cannot be two standards in the observance of international agreements, one system for oneself and the other one for the partner, especially a partner like the Soviet Union. The violation of the Geneva accords can force the USSR to take most resolute reply measures.

UN Observer Discusses Role, Rebel Actions

PM2306160688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No. 25, 19 Jun 88 p 1

[Undated interview with Major General Rauli Helminen, UN military observers' group leader, by Boris Gan: "Troops Withdrawing on Schedule, UN Observers' Chief Says"]

[Text] Kabul—"We are thankful to the Command of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan (LCST) for helping us to do our job here," said Major-General Rauli Helminen in Kabul. Helminen is head of the UN military observers' group currently monitoring the fulfilment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

"The withdrawal of Soviet units from Afghanistan is proceeding in an organized way, without any failures, and according to the schedule envisaged by the Geneva agreements," Maj.-Gen. Helminen went on. "We receive all the information we need from the LCST Command and fix the movement of columns ourselves. We have been here for about a month now—since May 15. But we have every reason to believe that by August 15 half the Soviet contingent will have left Afghanistan. All Soviet troops must be withdrawn by February 15, 1989. I am sure that this deadline will also be met. The function of the UN military observers is not only to monitor the Soviet troop withdrawal but also to record cases of outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. We have received more than 10 official protests from the Afghan Government about some 300 violations of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan. We are seriously studying these accusations. But all issues concerning fulfilment of the Geneva agreements must first be discussed between the interested parties and the UN on a confidential basis. We will soon present conclusions based on the results of spot inspections.

"Our group of military observers receives aid and support from the Afghan Government. We are also helped by the Pakistani authorities. However, we are encountering considerable difficulties of a purely practical nature—we have to work in mountainous, virtually inaccessible areas, where there are no reliable roads and no communications. Our mission is also complicated by hostilities of the armed formations of the Afghan opposition involving missile fire in Kabul and other cities. If

a ceasefire could be reached, it would become easier for us to fulfil our task. I believe that there is no justification for these actions. Civilians are dying as a result of these raids.

"We are on the first leg of a difficult journey. But I am sure that with the help of all interested parties which have signed the Geneva accords, we shall be able to cope successfully with the task at hand."

Petrovskiy Denies POW's Face Prosecution

LD2706112688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Army General Shabanov, USSR deputy minister of defense, currently in New York in connection with the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, have met with representatives of the International Committee to Rescue the Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, which was set up recently in the United States.

During their conversation, members of the committee particularly asked them to comment on the rumors being spread in the United States and other countries that in the event of their return to the USSR the prisoners of war would face severe punishment. The Soviet side clearly stated, as has already been explained by representatives of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, that, proceeding from the principles of socialist humanity, Soviet former prisoners of war and soldiers returning home will not be persecuted.

Iraqi Offensive Reported on Majnun Islands

LD2606115488 Moscow TASS in English 1102 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Baghdad June 26 TASS—Iraqi troops have launched a new offensive on the southern sector of the front. The communique of the Iraqi General Military Command says that on Saturday Iraqi troops captured an important bridgehead in the area of the Majnun Islands.

This operation is a follow-up to the offensive, which started on May 25, when Shalamchah area and the eastern part of the Al-Asmaq lake were freed. A salute was fired in Baghdad on Saturday on the occasion of the successful offensive of the Iraqi troops, the Iraqi news agency said.

Over the past twenty four hours local fighting was continuing on other sectors of the front, in whose course an Iranian helicopter was downed. The enemy suffered considerable losses in manpower and materiel. Iraqi Air Force helicopters flew 151 missions.

Nicosia June 26 TASS—According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, as a result of the massive offensive of the Iraqi Army on the southern sector of the

front Iranian troops were forced to "take up new positions" in the area of the Majnun Islands. The enemy troops on the offensive are reported to have suffered considerable losses, an Iraqi plane was downed. The military communique says that the Iranian Air Force launched a rocket and bomb strike on Saturday against Iraqi military and economic facilities in Kirkuk Province.

Iranian Air Force planes and naval speedboats continue patrolling the Persian and Oman Gulf Zones. Foreign merchant ships have been inspected.

USSR To Establish 'Permanent Base' in Syria

NC2306165488 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon
in Arabic 1545 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS reports that the USSR has decided to establish a permanent base for its Mediterranean fleet in the Syrian port of Tartus. The paper adds that a senior Soviet naval officer will supervise expansion operations at the Syrian port.

Galitsyn Doubts U.S. 'Credibility' on Mideast

LD2506100188 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0806 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Kuwait, 25 Jun (KUNA)—Aleksandr Galitsyn, chief of the Arabian Gulf section of the USSR Foreign Ministry, in an interview here today expressed doubts about the credibility of the role played by the United States in solving the Middle East crisis.

Galitsyn told the Kuwaiti AL-ANBA that the Soviet stance on the Middle East issue "is firm and has not changed, especially on the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the holding of an effective international conference in which the PLO participates."

He said that the rapprochement between the U.S. and Soviet stances on the Middle East "is a relative rapprochement concerning the form of the international conference, and the need to hold it [word indistinct] still exists."

He added: "We still cannot see from the current U.S. Administration anything to indicate that it will change its stance or deal seriously with the problem, and we are also doubtful of its credibility."

Galitsyn accused U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz of attempting to give the impression during his recent tour of the region that the two stances are close to each other, and he said: "We are suspicious of the U.S. stance which [word indistinct] anti-Arab and pro-Israel."

The Soviet official added: "We differ with the Americans about self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people, which we consider as a [word indistinct] basis. We also call for an Israeli withdrawal from all Arab

territories occupied in 1967, and we call for PLO participation in the international conference in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people."

In reply to a question by the Kuwaiti newspaper about Soviet-Israeli contacts, Galitsyn replied that these contacts are carried out at the request of the Israeli side. "It seems to us that the two rival parties in the Israeli elections, Labor and Likud, are trying to exploit that within the election campaigns and for propaganda purposes."

He pointed out that the meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, which took place on the sidelines of the UN disarmament session, was at Shamir's request.

He stressed that the contacts with Israel stem from the fact that it is a principal side in the Middle East conflict, and it is inevitable that contacts are held with that side.

As for resuming bilateral relations between Moscow and Tel Aviv, Galitsyn pointed out that Soviet Minister Shevardnadze in his meeting with Shamir stressed that this issue will be discussed not as an umbrella for unilateral bargains.

He said: "Concerning the Israeli consular delegation's visit to Moscow in mid-July, the aim is purely technical, as the five-man delegation will be informed about the department responsible for looking after the Israeli interests at the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow, and nothing more than that."

East Europe

Poland's Glemp Interviewed on Church Millenium
PM2306151088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 22 Jun 88 p 14

[Unattributed report on interview with Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of the Polish Catholic Church, at LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office, under the rubric "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's Guest": "The Church and the World"; date not given]

[Text] Among the foreign guests at the celebration of the millenium of the coming of Christianity to Russia was Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of the Polish Catholic Church.

Cardinal Jozef Glemp is an outstanding figure in the Catholic Church who has high prestige not only in Poland, but throughout the world. He does much to promote improved mutual understanding between people and between peoples. His peacemaking efforts are valued highly by both believers and nonbelievers.

As far as we know, in the many centuries of history of the Orthodox Church in Russia and Catholicism in Poland, this is the first visit to Moscow by a head of the Polish church. His visit was possible as a result of the changes for the better that we have seen in our country, in the other socialist countries, and throughout the world in recent years.

The agenda for the celebration of the millenium of the coming of Christianity to Russia was extensive. Despite being so busy, the eminent Polish guest found time to visit LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. We are glad that in recent years it was LITERATURNAYA GAZETA which began the discussion with the Polish episcopal leadership on problems of the defense of peace and the establishment of humanist principles.

At the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office there was a meeting with Cardinal Jozef Glemp and a conversation during which the cardinal answered LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's questions.

This continued the dialogue that began with the item "The Concept of Peace Is the Same for Everyone" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 6, 1987)—Cardinal Jozef Glemp's first interview in the Soviet press.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] A few words about the situation in Poland. How are relationships developing in the triangle: authorities—trade unions—church?

[Glemp] I would prefer to describe another triangle: church—opposition—authorities. The trade unions now hold a place between the opposition and the government. They sometimes say "no" to the government, sometimes to the opposition.

From the church's viewpoint, its relations with the authorities are very important. Your newspaper has written about the deep traditions of the Polish church and its close links with the people. Compared with Catholic countries like Austria, France, or Italy, our church has always—in good times and bad—been with the people, suffered with them and rejoiced with them. Moreover, as was the case in Russia, Christian culture penetrated popular culture deeply.

Now, the authorities. After the fascist occupation our state became socialist, by virtue of historical conditions. In the first postwar years socialism gradually, in a rational fashion, put down roots in Polish soil. But that was only a brief period, which was followed by the terrible times of Stalinism. The persecution of the church began (Primate Wyszynski himself was interned for 3 years), and at the same time the rejection of the system itself began to be manifested. As a result a lamentable alienation arose between the state, on the one hand, and the church and people on the other.

Then the revolutionary times, if I may call them that, arrived: the events in Poznan in 1956, the student disturbances of 1968, the events in Gdansk and Gdynia in 1970, in Radom in 1976, and finally in 1980 in Gdansk and all over Poland. Here we come up against that major phenomenon, "Solidarity." Unfortunately it was unable to realize the rational democratic, people's ideas and aspirations that were inherent in it. "Solidarity" developed so quickly that in a matter of months it turned into a giant which was, however, incapable of coping with giant-size problems. Imagine a child who has grown so vigorously in a single year, become so big, that he is simply unable to cope with all his problems.

Today we are again living through a difficult period: How to coordinate the common desire for democracy, the leading role of the party, the role of the church... And the task has to be resolved under the conditions of a serious economic crisis.

The Polish church has no political agenda, nor do we want one, since the church has a different sphere of activity. On the other hand, we have a right to form our own assessment of events. And first and foremost we feel responsible for the moral condition of the people. While the state has to lead the country out of the economic crisis, the church is concerned about the stability of the family, about saving the people from alcoholism, about man's trust in man, about labor as a means of developing the individual. And the state understands that this role for the church can also help the authorities. It may be said that good relations have now become established between church and state. The church has gained freedom in the sphere of worship, the liturgy, and many other areas. The church does not yet have the right to organize Catholic societies that would operate within society. But it is not impossible that we may also receive that right in the future.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Could you tell us in more detail about the links between Christian culture and the people's culture?

[Glomp] They were virtually inseparable for a very long time. Only in the 20th century did cultural figures appear who began to depart from Christianity as the inspiring ideal. But all the same, the link with Christianity was never broken, even with the emergence in our country after 1948 of "socialist realism," which permeated literature, painting, and music. Even at that time there were major writers who raised socioreligious issues in their work.

Since 1980, when a great ideological crisis hit Poland, we have witnessed a turn to the church by many cultural figures. We had many writers, poets, artists, and performers in our churches. They remain to this day, although some of them have left the churches. There is a pastorate in Warsaw for cultural figures, who are in the care of a specially appointed priest. They have their own special church. Not all who go there are Catholics. But

they are seeking the path to the church. Cardinal Pupar [name as published], chairman of the Vatican commission for dialogue with nonbelievers, recently visited us. At a session of the commission, on the nonbelievers' side there were writers, poets, and representatives of the opposition, but no party members.

Poland is now notable for the freedom of its philosophical discussions.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] How do you assess the role of the Christian churches in the modern world? What are the aims of the ecumenical unity of churches, the course that was proclaimed by the Second Vatican Council?

[Glomp] Thanks to Pope John XXIII's encyclicals and the council, the church reflected on its true nature. Although the council was pondering on the Catholic Church, it extended its conception to the entirety of Christ's church. The church thinks about how to act in a world concerned with politics, economics, and culture. The church acknowledges that it should serve the world, but this is a special kind of service. It is customary to regard service as fulfilling someone's instructions. But the church wants to serve the world not at the world's orders, not under its diktat, but on the precepts of the Gospels. From this standpoint the church may find itself in conflict with the authorities, may prove to be an inconvenience, a nuisance. It may be a nuisance, but it is necessary.

The church has internal problems too: It is divided into the Eastern and Western church; there is Protestantism, which in turn has a great many ramifications. When we speak of ecumenical unity, that does not imply any kind of administrative unity. It is a question of consensus with regard to the fundamental ideas contained in the Gospels. That is what we call ecumenicalism.

I think ecumenicalism is still in its initial stage of development. For the church to be able to fulfill its mission, it must study the various faiths in more depth. That is a long and difficult task.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Poland will soon mark the 70th anniversary of its independence. How do you assess that period in its history?

[Glomp] Since 1918 Poland has existed within two different political systems—from 1918 through 1939 and from 1944 through 1988. The periods of *sanacja* (footnote) (*sanacja*—"making healthy," the usual term for the autocratic regime in Poland in 1926-1939—editor's note) and socialism are separated by the Hitlerite occupation. The celebration of the 70th anniversary could promote the national integration of Poles, as well as the critical interpretation of errors.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] What do you think about the problem of "blank spots" in the history of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations?

[Glemp] The elimination of "blank spots"—as a logical continuation of restructuring—is awaited impatiently by the Poles. The most important problem is Katyn. The study of this question cannot be delayed. Today nobody wants to turn Katyn into an argument against the Soviet Union. A cross should be placed on the grave, and there should be access, as to any war cemetery. [Glemp ends]

The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA journalists answered Cardinal Jozef Glemp's questions about spiritual, intellectual, and religious life in our country.

At the end of the meeting LITERATURNAYA GAZETA handed Cardinal Jozef Glemp a gift of a copy of the monument to Prince Vladimir, which was blessed in Svyato-Danilov Monastery. The copy was executed at LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's request by the monument's creator, the well-known Soviet sculptor and USSR Council of Ministers Prize holder Vladimir Akse-
nov.

Taking part in the meeting were priest R. Kaminski, secretary to Primate J. Glemp; W. Klaczynski, counselor at the Polish Embassy in the USSR; and Polish and Soviet journalists.

MOSCOW NEWS Interview

PM2306160888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS
in English No 25, 19 Jun 88 p 5

[Interview with Polish primate, Cardinal Glemp, by Eduard Khamidulin at the Moscow Embassy of the Polish People's Republic: "Chains Aren't Forever"; date not given]

[Text] Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of the Catholic Church of Poland, received "MN" analyst Eduard Khamidulin at the Moscow Embassy of the Polish People's Republic.

Q.: How do you see the opportunities and ways today for promoting further rapprochement between the Soviet and Polish peoples?

A.: I can't speak competently about the political side of the process, since this is a matter for the state bodies of both countries. But we're striving for a genuine rapprochement because although official relations between our countries remained on a very good level, the genuine feelings of people, manifested in mutual relations, were not always as good. And what is officially recognized must be coordinated and synchronized with what people are actually feeling. First of all, we must treat each other like partners regardless of whether we're a big or small country so that everything is based on real equality. Then people will feel that it is all sincere.

It is important that tastes, ways of life, architecture and other such things aren't forced on one another. But there were periods when this occurred. It is necessary to recognize our realities and differences.

I think we are moving in this direction by speaking about the "blank spots" of history and their elimination. I think that joint efforts are the things that can really bring people together. I believe that the Church plays a big part in this. Knowledge by the Orthodox and Catholic churches about each other is conducive to rapprochement between peoples.

We can't do it all in a year or two. For example, one of the main issues here is that of Katyn. It must be clarified as soon as possible. Poles know that it concerns the victims of war. And a cross must be put there because the graves of people are there. This is just one of those practical steps, the rapid realization of which would help speed up our rapprochement.

We know that historians in both countries are already working on it, that there are documents available, and that the issue of Katyn is being studied in detail. We must help this matter make more rapid headway.

Daring changes are occurring in the Soviet Union which are creating guarantees for the establishment of good relations between our two countries.

PRAVDA Reports on Polish Local Elections

PM2306141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jun 88 First Edition p 4

[Anatoliy Starukhin report: "Course of Renewal: Local Council Elections Held in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—Elections to local and voivodship councils were held in Poland last Sunday. Nothing out of the ordinary in that, it would seem—the constitutional principle of the formation of organs of people's power in the country has been exercised once again. At the same time particular public attention was drawn to these elections, and the procedure by which they were conducted differed substantially from previous elections.

Just take the number of candidates. Previously there would have been, say, two candidates for each seat. The first-named candidate was the main contender, however, and the second was the reserve. There was no requirement that only one candidate be left on the ballot [that other names be crossed out], and in the vast majority of cases the "main" candidate became the deputy. This time, however, the voter had to choose—and for that purpose a pen was supplied on the table in the polling booth. Often people were asked to choose one candidate from three. The election campaign was correspondingly different, too. More than 380,000 candidates, or 70,000 more than in the 1984 elections, were nominated at

meetings for the 108,846 seats as people's council deputies. After further consultations with the public the electoral commissions placed around 254,000 candidates on the electoral lists.

Literally every day candidates met with labor collectives, the intelligentsia, young students, and people in their local neighborhood. A few days ago I met one of the candidates. He is 29-year-old Jacek Karczewski—deputy chairman of the Warsaw District Association of Polish Students Council—and he listed his new "concerns" to me: The capital does not have enough student hostels, the sports facilities are poor, the residents of a new district on the right bank of the Vistula, where he lives, have asked for special attention to be paid to hospitals, there aren't enough schools... And he has two "rivals" as well—an electronics engineer and a party worker. Only one can be elected... To win you need your own program which has to be the most attractive, the candidate said.

This is also a characteristic of the current elections—the nomination of young people and its democratic nature. A special role in the preelection period was played by the more than 33,000 civic meetings conducted by residents' self-administration organs and by organs of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The right to nominate representatives of the organs of power was granted to all public organizations—at enterprises or in voters' local neighborhoods. At least 50,000 preelection consultative meetings were held during which people actively influenced the final decision on who would be placed on the electoral list.

In brief, the new statute on elections adopted recently in People's Poland has enabled the population to directly select the candidates, find representatives who could boldly oppose all manifestations of bureaucracy, and energetically and knowledgeably tackle the solution of the difficult economic and social tasks facing the country. For its part the state gave the councils the status of legal entities, investing them with complete independence in the promotion of various economic initiatives, and recognized their responsibility for maintaining the material base of health care, education, culture, sports, tourism, and leisure. Hundred of enterprises and production units, with the exception of the largest, have been placed under the councils' management. The people's councils have been given the right to take out bank loans and a considerable proportion of enterprises' income tax is being paid into their budget.

Nevertheless, only around 56 percent of the electorate actually voted. There are economic reasons for that: the recent raising of prices and the as yet insignificant effect of the reforms that are being carried out. At the same time the present elections, I think, will go down in history as the most democratic of recent time and perhaps will provide a lesson for the further improvement of the electoral system and the full use by the popular masses of their right to shape the organs of power.

Hungary's Grosz To Visit USSR Early Jul
LD2406143188 Moscow World Service in English
1400 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that the general secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of Hungary and Hungarian prime minister, Karoly Grosz, will make a working visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of July. He has been invited by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Briefs

Hungarian Consultation

Moscow, June 23 (MTI)—Istvan Oszi, Hungarian deputy minister of foreign affairs, paid a visit to Moscow on June 21-22 on the invitation of the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union. He held talks on bilateral relations and timely international issues with Deputy Foreign Ministers I.P. Aboymov and I.A. Rogachev, and R.P. Fedorov, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. [Text] *[LD2406021788 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 23 Jun 88]*

West Europe

Thatcher Comments on East-West Ties Cited
LD2406050288 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT
23 Jun 88

[Text] Ottawa June 23 TASS—TASS correspondent Ivan Mironov reports:

After the end of the economic summit of seven biggest capitalist countries in Toronto, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain arrived in Ottawa and addressed a joint session of the Senate and the House of Commons of Canadian Parliament.

Touching upon the East-West relations, she described the recent summit meeting in Moscow as "an historic success" and pointed out a special significance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

However, contrary to her own conclusions on positive changes in the international arena and the improvement of the East-West relations, the British prime minister spoke out in favour of the consolidation of the defenses of the West and the modernization of armaments in the NATO countries. She approved a defense policy pursued by the Canadian Government, specifically, the decision to go on with the tests of American cruise missiles in Canada and on acquiring a nuclear-powered submarine fleet. She suggested that Canada buy the nuclear-powered submarines from Britain.

Margaret Thatcher supported a Canadian-American agreement on free trade which is the subject of acute differences between various political forces of Canada both in Parliament and outside it. Opposition parties, trade unions and numerous public organizations strongly oppose the coming into force of the agreement on duty-free trade with the economic giant situated to the south of Canada which, in their opinion, could lead to complete economic and political subordination of Canada to the U.S. The unceremonious interference of the British prime minister in the internal affairs of Canada and her open support for a political course of the conservative government triggered off a storm of indignation among representatives of the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party in Parliament.

Edward Broadbent, leader of the New Democratic Party, said that Margaret Thatcher had been a guest of Parliament, not of the Government of Canada, and that by her speech she had insulted those who had invited her.

John Turner, leader of the Liberal Party, said in the House of Commons that the speech of the British prime minister constituted an open interference in the internal affairs of Canada, a violation of its sovereignty. He pointed out that Canada was no longer a British colony and it had no intention to become a colony of the United States.

TASS Views Deputy Minister's Visit to Turkey
LD1706135288 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Ankara June 17 TASS—Valentin Nikiforov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, stayed in Turkey on June 15-17 as special envoy of the Soviet leadership.

During detailed talks with Mesut Yilmaz, Turkish minister of foreign affairs, and Nazhet Kandemir, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, the Soviet envoy informed them of the talks in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Ronald Reagan of the United States and told them how the results of the talks were viewed in the Soviet Union.

The Turkish side received with great satisfaction the decision of the Soviet leadership to send its special envoy to Ankara, and highly appreciated the information

received. It was emphasised that it was believed in Turkey that the Moscow summit gave a new impulse to positive tendencies both in Soviet-U.S. and international relations and that the success of the talks in Moscow would serve the interests of all countries and peoples. The Turkish side also expressed hope that the Soviet Union and the United States would continue talks with a view to making further headway along the road of reducing nuclear and other arms.

During the talks in Ankara the two sides pointed out a favourably developing atmosphere in Soviet-Turkish relations and their onward development towards good-neighbourly cooperation.

Agro-Industrial Protocol Signed With Finland
LD1706212188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Helsinki, 17 Jun (TASS)—A protocol on cooperation between the USSR Agro-Industrial Committee and the Finnish Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was signed in the Finnish capital today. On the Soviet side the document was signed by Minister Yevgeniy Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee, and on the Finnish side by Agriculture and Forestry Minister Toivo Pohjala.

The protocol notes that mutually advantageous cooperation between Finnish and Soviet enterprises is developing fruitfully in such branches as seed and feed production, cattle breeding, and the processing of agricultural produce. Finnish firms are taking part in the construction in our country of a number of major projects of the agro-industrial complex. Scientific and technological cooperation is being carried out in 25 areas, meeting the requirements of the agricultural production of both states. Several agreements have been concluded on the exchange of licences, and two joint enterprises have been set up.

At the same time, Y. Sizenko pointed out in his speech at the signing of the protocol that the potential for mutually advantageous cooperation is far from being fully utilized. New, untraditional forms of interaction must be looked for.

The document envisages an expansion of cooperation between enterprises and scientific establishments of the two countries. It has also been decided to step up work to study opportunities for setting up new Soviet-Finnish enterprises.

Political & Social

Me on Armenia, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh

536 Said Killed in Sumgait

AU2406142588 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT
24 Jun 88

[Text] Paris, June 24 (AFP)—An Armenian political group called here on Friday for an "impartial international inquiry" into the killing of Armenians in Soviet Azerbaijan in February, saying it had proof that at least 536 people had died. Describing the official Soviet death toll of 26 Armenians and six Azeris as "ludicrous," the socialist Dashnag party said it had official documents, including numbered death and post-mortem certificates to back its toll for the February 27-29 ethnic riots in Caspian Sea port of Sumgait. The real toll could be even higher, Dashnag said, citing Armenian refugees who had fled Sumgait.

The request for an international inquiry commission to probe the ethnic clashes comes on the eve of a big demonstration by three Armenian political parties outside the Soviet Embassy in Paris. The demonstration is being organized in support of Soviet Armenia's bid to recover the enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, ceded to Azerbaijan in 1923.

The demonstrators plan to hand in a letter to the Soviet Embassy calling for protection for Armenians living in Azerbaijan and for those responsible for the Sumgait "pogrom" to be identified and punished.

Similar big demonstrations are scheduled for Saturday in Athens, Beirut, Buenos Aires, London, Los Angeles, Montreal, Munich, Rome, Toronto, in Australia and "probably in Teheran."

NKAO Newspaper Besieged

PM2406155588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jun 88 First Edition p 6

[S. Oganyan article: "Stepanakert: Appeal Falls on Deaf Ears" under rubric "Stop Press"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR, 24 Jun—The city is still not working today. Despite the fact that yesterday's oblast soviet session, as already reported, appealed to the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh to get back into the normal working routine and to try to make up for lost time, this appeal has failed to produce any results. This time the pretext being used is that the decision reached by the session—as published in the local press—did not contain the mention of the fact the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] would leave the Azerbaijan SSR without waiting for any decisions from the USSR Supreme Soviet. This unconstitutional wording

had indeed been adopted at the session. So people have surrounded the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper's printing house, demanding that the full text of the decision be published.

PRAVDA Reports 'Error'

PM2506165588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Correction"]

[Text] An error was made by the author in the item "Stepanakert: Appeal Falls on Deaf Ears" published in the issue for 25 June 1988. The session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Soviet did not adopt an unconstitutional decision to secede from the Azerbaijan SSR without waiting for any decisions by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In fact, the oblast soviet session appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to examine the question of the autonomous oblast's temporary subordination to the USSR Government until the question of the NKAO's future status is finally resolved.

Industry Making Up Losses

PM2406152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent S. Bablunyan dispatch: "Making Up the Losses"]

[Text] Yerevan—Over the last few months, Yerevan's Theater Square has become a kind of barometer of citizens' moods. All is quiet here nowadays. Just like in the past, people come here in the evenings to chat a little, to listen a little, to argue a little.

There is, of course, only one topic: How will Karabakh's future be decided? As is to be expected, views on this issue differ. Some demand an immediate solution, others believe that haste in the unraveling of such complex knots could pull them still tighter. Be that as it may, however, they all agree on one point: The problem must be solved fairly.

I record in my notebook the words spoken by an elderly man. My interlocutor M. Simonyan, who introduced himself as worker from the "Zakavkazkabel" Association, said this: "When discussing the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, there is no need to proceed from the 'who will win' principle—this principle is good only for a tug-of-war. In this case, it is necessary to proceed from the country's Constitution and apply it strictly. Once a dispute has emerged, the law and the law alone must deliberate. Let us await a just solution. There is far too much at stake to risk exacerbating the situation through rash conclusions or unconsidered actions."

Having received the latest issue of IZVESTIYA, people are carefully reading the conversation between Kazakh writer O. Suleymenov and G. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. Much of what is said in the item automatically makes them draw parallels, in particular the vain strivings by opponents of restructuring (it would be naive to imagine that they do not exist in Armenia) to speculate with national feelings.

According to reports from the republic's cities and rayons, the labor rhythm is being restored everywhere.

From the Armenian State Committee for Statistics report: About 120 industrial enterprises operated in the republic on Saturday 18 June, and 205,000 working people reported for work. Output worth more than R10 million was manufactured that day. A report from the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST: Labor collective meetings at the "Armelektromash" Association unanimously decided to work also on Saturday 25 June.

This is how restitution is being made for the losses caused by the strike on the eve of the Armenian Supreme Soviet session. More and more people are convinced that the atmosphere of hardline confrontation, appeals to injured feelings, and whipping up of passions is not the way to solve any problems, let alone national problems.

'Normal Work' Resumes

PM2506160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[S. Oganyan report: "Stepanakert Returns to Work"]

[Text] Stepanakert, Azerbaijan SSR—A mass rally was held in Stepanakert yesterday. It was held on Victory Square (the central Lenin Square being closed to rallies and processions). On the whole, the rally participants adopted a constructive decision: to resume normal work.

The participants were addressed by Z. Movsesyan, first secretary of Stepanakert party gorkom. He spoke of his support for the movement to transfer Nagorno-Karabakh to the Armenian SSR, but at the same time called on people to reject strong-arm methods of trying to influence state organs. Not everyone agreed with the party secretary's appeal. Other proposals were also aired: It was proposed that people wait for the conclusion of the 19th party conference so as then to act in accordance with its results. But this position was not supported.

True, it is not clear just when enterprises will start work—on Sunday or Monday. But right after the rally people gathered in groups around the leaders of their enterprises and there were lively debates about the decision reached by a majority.

"First and foremost, we must reopen public transportation," B. Dadamyan, chief of the Stepanakert Passenger Road Transport Association, believes. "This will accelerate the process of normalizing the situation and will help the city to get back to work more quickly."

And R. Kocharyan, party committee secretary at the "Karshelkombinat," said that during the strike a great many of the enterprise's workers were not idle—they helped bring in the harvest. I spotted N. Movsesyan, chief of the party gorkom organizational department, among the rally participants.

"We must get back to work," she tried to persuade those present. "The importance of the party conference for restructuring is so great that we must greet it seriously, at our workplaces."

Armenians March on Paris Embassy

AU2606125488 Paris AFP in English 0341 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Paris, June 26 (AFP)—Thousands of Armenians demonstrated near the Soviet Embassy here on Saturday in support of a campaign to have the region of Nagorno-Karabakh attached to the Soviet Republic of Armenia. The demonstrators numbering about 3,000 were prevented from approaching the embassy by French police, but their leaders were allowed to hand in a petition at the building.

In the petition, the Armenians, who live in France, said they supported the campaign to have Nagorno-Karabakh attached to Armenia and called for the Soviet authorities to protect Armenians living in the adjacent Republic of Azerbaijan.

Nagorno-Karabakh was attached to Moslem Azerbaijan by Josef Stalin shortly after World War I, but the region and mainly Christian Armenia have been rent by protests since February calling for it to be returned.

Leaders of the demonstration said that their protest was part of a worldwide campaign by Armenians living outside the Soviet Union to back the Nagorno-Karabakh campaign, with similar actions planned notably for Los Angeles and Beirut. France has one of the biggest Armenian communities in the world with 400,000 living in the country.

Return to Work Urged

PM2606134388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
26 Jun 88 p 3

[Own correspondent T. Kasumova dispatch under rubric "We Report Details": "Time To Get Down to Work. On the Events in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR—After the noisy rallies and demonstrations of recent days, the streets of Stepanakert are quiet again. But it is a tense quiet, unnatural for a city of

many thousands of inhabitants. The doors of enterprises remain closed, machine tools are idle, there is no transportation. The freight cars of sugar, tea, and rice are not being unloaded.

Despite the appeal for a return to work issued a few days ago by a session of the oblast soviet, people are staying at home. And the situation, which has been whipped up more and more over the past 4 months, is tense.

The damage currently sustained by enterprise personnel in Nagorno-Karabakh is quite serious: The shortfall in production in the autonomous oblast totals almost R30 million. In conditions of economic accountability the growing debts are turning into an excessive burden weighing down labor collectives. The disruption in deliveries is also having a most serious effect on the position of allied enterprises—dozens of enterprises up and down the country which are also operating in the new conditions of management.

There is no denying that the damage being done to our economy is vast. But what figures can we use to quantify the moral loss, the damage done to inter-ethnic relations, to the friendship of two peoples who have lived together on the same soil from ancient times? More and more people are asking: Is this permissible? Is this an acceptable method of resolving overdue problems which, incidentally, no one was now particularly mentioning at the rallies in Stepanakert? Meanwhile, they had originally been cited as the reason for the demands to transfer the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. The program for the socioeconomic development of the autonomous oblast which was adopted by the country's government is drawn up precisely to resolve these problems. But how can it be implemented without work? Who stands to gain from key questions of people's existence being resolved by means of "rally democracy," "strong-arm" pressure on the state, "circumventing" the Constitution? Many people, to whom the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it cause pain, concern, and alarm, are now asking themselves these questions.

For the fifth month in succession passions are raging around a question which essentially should never have arisen, reads an appeal addressed by Armenians living in Baku to their compatriots in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Armenian SSR.

And if the Communists and all the working people in Karabakh want restructuring, then it is high time they rolled up their sleeves and got down to work. There is more than enough to do. But, evidently, this approach is not to everyone's liking. Ambitions get the upper hand. Enterprises are idle. This is a stab in the back of restructuring and a blow against the radiant plans of our party, the appeal says.

It seems to me that anyone who does not just pay lip service to, but really values the changes which are under way in the country, anyone who is truly committed to restructuring, can subscribe to these words.

Stepanakert Strike Continues

PM2706090188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent A. Kazikhanov report: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Establishing Normal Working"]

[Text] I am dictating these lines at noon Moscow time on 26 June. Stepanakert's construction sites and enterprises are still not at work. There are endless marches and rallies. The main slogan, as before, is: Revise the oblast's status.

On Saturday morning a meeting of the city's party and economic aktiv took place at which the decision was made to try to secure a return to work by the working people. An hour and a half after the aktiv meeting about 10,000 persons gathered for the latest rally. From a makeshift speaker's platform those assembled were addressed by the party gorkom first secretary, Z. Movsesyan. He called upon the people to go back to work. An appeal by the aktiv to the people was read out.

How did people respond to it? They responded in various ways. Some acknowledge: "It is time to return to work, the demands we are putting forward must not be allowed to hinder work."

"Many people are convinced that the strike is not the best means," said V. Akadzhanian, secretary of the party obkom. "And now everything is being done to establish a normal working rhythm, because all the complex issues can only be resolved under normal democratic conditions. However, there are still forces that are actively opposing this. Our task is to work with them, to convince them."

But so far it has not proved possible to achieve very much along this path. The Saturday issue of the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, which had already been made ready by the editorial office, was not printed. Items containing appeals to show up for work were to have appeared in that issue.

As before, the city is alive with rumors: about the obstacles allegedly being caused by the Azerbaijanis to the transportation of agricultural produce from the fields to the oblast's capital city, about clashes and murders that have occurred somewhere. Data from checks that have been made have not confirmed a single one of these rumors. But on the whole the situation is being determined, or to be more precise, is being stoked up, by rumors nevertheless. And as a result fewer and fewer Azerbaijanis remain in Stepanakert, while fewer and fewer Armenians are left in the neighboring city of Agdam in Azerbaijan.

Having met with dozens of people these last few days I have heard from many of them one thing time and again:

"Are you a journalist? Right then, what we ask of you is that you write as objectively as possible about the events surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast so as not to create new seats of tension...."

Yerevan Reported Idle

AU2706101288 Paris AFP in English 1002 GMT
27 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, June 27 (AFP)—A majority of workers were still on strike Monday in Stepanakert, chief town of the disputed, mostly-Armenian enclave of Nagorno Karabakh, local officials and sources contacted from Moscow said. An official at the Stepanakert Communist Party acknowledged that most workers were staying away from their jobs. He added that the situation in the town was calm and that no incidents had been reported. A former member of the banned Karabakh Committee, Igor Muradyan, said in a telephone conversation from the Armenian capital of Yerevan, that public transport was at a standstill there and that few people had reported for work.

The Communist Party daily PRAVDA said Sunday that the population of Stepanakert had decided to end the crippling, month-long general strike. It had been called to back Armenian nationalist demands that Nagorno-Karabakh, a part of Azerbaijan since 1923, be restored to Armenia.

However, Armenian militants said Sunday in Moscow that the general strike was only being suspended for the duration of the Communist Party conference due to open on Tuesday.

Police Break Up Tatar Demonstration in Tashkent

AU2606133188 Paris AFP in English 1317 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, June 26 (AFP)—Security forces Sunday broke up a demonstration in Tashkent by some 20,000 Crimean Tatars protesting a state commission's rejection of their demand for an autonomous republic in their Black Sea homeland, dissident sources said here. Human rights campaigner Valeriy Senderov told AFP that some demonstrators had been wounded when police brutally dispersed the demonstration in the capital of the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan.

Moscow-based Tatar spokeswoman Elvira Ablayeva confirmed that police had broken up a "large demonstration" in Tashkent but did not have further details.

The demonstration in Tashkent was staged on the eve of a special Communist Party conference in Moscow which is to discuss ethnic problems in general. [passage omitted]

Moscow Reports 'Renewal' Rally in Vilnius

LD2506223288 Moscow World Service in English
2100 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, there has been a rally by 10,000 people. Speakers, among them novelists, scientists, and other professionals, voiced support for the drive for renewal, democratization and openness. They said they supported the sane forces of society seeking progress in politics and the economy and the further development and mutual enrichment of ethnic cultures. There have been rallies in support of renewal in other Soviet cities.

Lithuanian Party Conference Platform Approved

LD2706125888 Vilnius in English to North America
2200 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Excerpts] A meeting between the members of the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee with representatives of the general public took place in Vilnius today. Taking part in the meeting were some representatives of the restructuring movement which was initiated 2 weeks ago. [passage omitted]

However, not all the state institutes are disposed to appreciate and support the restructuring movement. Among other things, quite a lot of criticism has been passed by the restructuring activists on the way delegates to the party conference were nominated. [passage omitted]

It has been reported that about 500,000 people, both Communist Party members and nonparty people, took part in the meetings held to discuss the Theses and approximately 1 out of every 10 participants spoke at these meetings. All the suggestions were classified and analyzed by the Central Committee Bureau and by the delegates to the conference from Lithuania.

The platform reflected Lithuania's aspirations for economic, cultural and political sovereignty, and at the same time it reflected the support for the cardinal changes in the life of the entire Soviet society.

Tomorrow, the restructuring movement is due to hold a public discussion of the major proposals for the all-union party conference. This discussion is to be held in one of the central squares of Vilnius. The Lithuanian delegates are invited to take part.

Austrian Daily on Opposition in Estonia

AU2706094088 Vienna KURIER in German
27 Jun 88 p 3

["Exclusive" KURIER report by Michael Klenk from Tallin: "National Opposition: 'We Want Autonomy and Political Freedom'"]

[Text] The Baltic States are in turmoil: 100,000 people are staging a demonstration with a strongly nationalist undertone in Estonia, they are demanding the removal of

the local party chief Karl Vayno, and attacking the KGB. In Tallin (formerly Reval) KURIER met with one of the leading minds of the new opposition movement, 51-year-old journalist and film maker Vello Ploha.

"Our movement is called National Front, it is a movement of independent people and Communists," Ploha says. "To date we have 50,000 registered members, but soon there will be twice this number."

The goals? "We want to implement Estonia's autonomy in such a way as existed only on paper in the past—that is, political and economic freedoms. Then there is the aspect of ecology. If we go on with our industry as we do now, we are heading directly for an environmental disaster." A planned gigantic fertilizer factory endangers the drinking water, and brown coal power plants cause the dying of forests and bronchial diseases.

How far does the resistance go? Ploha: "I am in favor of resisting without violence—with demonstrations, letters to those responsible, and work with the press. But some young people even advocate violent actions."

The Estonian independence movement is particularly outraged because of the "systematic infiltration of foreign elements." Since Stalin attached the country to the Soviet Union, only 61 percent of the population have remained Estonian, "a strategy to literally undermine us."

On the topic of human rights: "We demand the right to a clean environment, the admission of several parties, and freedom of travel."

If a multiparty system were established, he would "vote for the most radical party, even if it were the Communist Party." Ploha knows that the National Front is balancing on a very fine edge.

"Gorbachev gives us courage. If he cannot prevail, we will not prevail either." For him, the current Kremlin chief emanates "education, honesty, and high ethics."

"One day Estonia will even have its own stamps again," Ploha says. Then he says good-bye. With a raised fist—the sign of resistance and struggle.

Estonian Premier Saul on Republics' Rights
AU2306142988 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH
in Bulgarian 22 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Bruno Saul, chairman of the Council of Ministers' Presidium of the Estonian SSR, "specially dispatched" by NOVOSTI for NARODNA MLADEZH: "More Rights, More Responsibility"; date and place not given]

[Text] If we should determine the priority problems around which discussions are evolving on the eve of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the new system of

national economic management should be mentioned first, Bruno Saul, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, stated.

The restructuring process that is taking place today in all spheres of our lives includes the transition from administrative to economic methods of management in the national economy. Hence, the two fundamental principles which we would like to describe. In the first place we should mention the complicated nature of management and administration. In Soviet Estonia we are almost entirely copying the model of the all-union system. However, we must admit that a system which applies to a whole country with a 280-million strong population, is not always suitable for a republic with 1.5 million inhabitants. Along with the social organizations, approximately 100 leading republican organs exist in our country, including 43 ministries, state committees, and departments. Part of them are still based on a multi-link administrative structure for the management of their own enterprises. Because of this, over 2 percent of all those engaged in social production, or to put it more precisely, 15,800 people, are employees of the administrative apparatus. Frankly speaking, this is an inadmissible luxury. The more so, since according to the Law on State Enterprises, the majority of issues formerly resolved by ministries and departments, are now within the competence of the enterprises. Therefore, it is envisaged to release 4,000 people from the administrative apparatus, along with the establishment of complex management organs.

Experience has already been acquired in our country in this respect. Estonia was a pioneer in uniting the agro-industrial complex under a single roof. Our republic was one of the first which rallied the branches of construction, architecture, design, building, and the production of building materials in a single State Committee. We are now planning to create a State Committee for Industry, uniting the industrial potential of the republic. The committee will coordinate the production of mass consumer goods in Estonia. This is very important, since over 250 enterprises, situated on the territory of the republic, are subject to 70 all-union, or union-republican ministries and departments. For the time being, they are not within the competence of the republican management organs, while most of these enterprises actually produce mass consumer goods.

The State Committee for Transportation is in charge of coordinating the activities of all types of transportation, part of which, however, is also subjected to all-union institutions. Because of the lack of coordination in their work we are suffering great disadvantages. The State Committee for Culture and People's Education should be simplified, so that the management of this important sphere in our social life should become less expensive and more efficient.

The first of these basic principles results in a second principle—namely in the requirement to enhance the role of those institutions to which the ministries and

departments are transferring the majority of their rights and obligations. I have in mind the local soviets and their executive organs, as well as the enterprises themselves. They now have a voice in many respects. For example, we provided for the total amount of meat produced in excess of state orders on the territory of a rayon to be placed under the management of the rayon executive committee for the supply of the local population, and we obtained satisfactory results from this experiment.

We are now entering a stage in which the system which determines the functions, structures, and competences of each management body and the structure of management within the complex system, should be examined in detail.

This is a difficult process. The greatest attention is required for questions pertaining to the expansion of the rights of union republics to deal with economic, social, and cultural problems. Presumably, we should analyze the experience accumulated in connection with the functioning of the Sovnarkhoz [Council on the National Economy] in the fifties and sixties, when the entire industrial complex, situated on the territory of the republic, was practically placed under of the management of the Sovnarkhoz. There is a proposal to decentralize administration in other spheres as well, such as education and culture, taking into consideration the specific local peculiarities and needs. Undoubtedly, these proposals include a grain of good sense; however, in order to submit specific proposals on these questions to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference they should be thoroughly analyzed so as to "separate sheep from goats." A special working group has been established in our republic for this purpose. The different aspects of coordinating central and regional administration are among the weak links of Soviet economic science. Today this question is being thoroughly analyzed by specialized scientific collectives at the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Decentralization and the optimal transfer of numerous administrative and management functions to local levels are among the problems submitted for discussion on which the Communists of our republic will have their say.

Latvian Party Chief Pugo Interviewed
*PM2606121088 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Jun 88 pp 1-2*

[Interview with B. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by own correspondent V. Proskura in Riga: "By Persuasion and Example"; date of interview not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A characteristic feature of our time is the formation of real pluralism of opinions and the open comparison of ideas and interests. Thanks to this, the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party

Conference note, Soviet people are gaining the opportunity to make fuller use of their intellectual and moral potential and become more actively involved in public life.

How are Latvia's Communists tackling the tasks of the democratization of life? How are the republic's party committees working in the new conditions? What problems are they encountering on the path of renewal? This range of questions determined the theme of the conversation between SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's own correspondent V. Proskura and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary V. Pugo.

Riga—[Proskura] Boris Karlovich, you will doubtless agree that the eve of the conference is the time to sum up the results of 3 years of restructuring. It is no accident that in assessing the time that has passed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, people ask, first and foremost, this question: Have there been changes? Today this question is particularly relevant to the discussion of the restructuring of party work. Here a great impression was made on me, for instance, by the recent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which discussed the tasks of ideological, political, international, and patriotic education of the republic's working people. At this plenum there was indeed a "comparison of ideas and interests." The speeches revealed viewpoints which were, as a rule, by no means identical. One wonders, has the old style of compromise and silence come to an end?

[Pugo] One would like to think so. After all, our latest plenum, which elected the delegates to the 19th all-union party conference, was also heated. Here, too, there was a clash of opinions and judgments. This was reflected in the results of the secret ballot of Central Committee members, which were not the usual "unanimous" results. People ask me: Is that bad or good? I reply: It is as it should be, because it reflects the Communists' real feelings. But all the same, there is an aspect which prevents me from giving a definite answer to the question you posed: The boldness of some of our Central Committee members and their position have thus far been manifested mainly behind the screens of the polling booth.

Yes, we are learning democracy, we are coming to understand that in its true form it presupposes both free will and the subjugation of the minority to the decision of a prescribed majority, a decision which is not imposed from above, but worked out together.

That was what happened, incidentally, at the recent session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, where the new general outline for management of the national economy of the Latvian SSR was discussed. Here too keen criticism was heard and extremely drastic proposals were put

forward. But there was a kind of logic, if a debatable logic, behind them, a desire to really tackle the problem and find a solution. In a word, no one was indifferent.

Particularly intense, stormy debates were aroused by the intention of the Council of Ministers to abolish the republican Ministry of the Forestry and Timber Industry and incorporate its subunits in the system of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Industry. Many people thought that the integrated industrial department being set up by the government would, intentionally or unintentionally, adopt the position reflected in the well known lumberjacks' song: "Our hands are used to wielding the ax..." It has now been decided to set up a specialized republican administration which will continue the comprehensive work begun by the former ministry to restore and protect our "green friend."

In a word, it is an unusual situation. Some "commentators" on the session even started talking about a "vote of no confidence" supposedly expressed against the government. You see, the idea of compulsory "unanimity" has eaten so far into our consciousness that even the session's businesslike atmosphere was regarded as something extraordinary. In my opinion, we have restored to the highest organ of power its strength and authority, its true task—to work out decisions. Formerly, you will agree, that was mainly the lot of a comparatively narrow range of workers in the relevant apparatus. Now, all the deputies' principled, constructive observations are taken into account. The Council of Ministers completed the work of perfecting the draft, and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has already adopted the corresponding decrees.

[Proskura] In this connection, Boris Karlovich, I would like to quote the words of People's Writer of Latvia R. Ezera at the republic Communist Party Central Committee plenum. The years of stagnation, she said, are like the river in winter. Beneath the ice the river flows, but the day comes when the water rises up, the ice breaks, and the river bursts its banks. The spring flood is rapid, the waters are troubled and merciless, but they alone will reveal what lay hidden. It is in the spring flood that the river begins to find its new course....

[Pugo] Indeed, the development of the new means both forward movement and destruction. But as the writer correctly observed, the most important thing is the new course. This course, for restructuring, is the democratization of the life of the party and society. We have already succeeded in achieving much by advancing confidently along this path. You know, back in April 1985 the republic Communist Party Central Committee adopted a decision approving the experience of the Riga "Kommunator" Association in the election of production leaders by the labor collectives. As long ago as that, this practice was recommended for universal dissemination. Soon after, a plant director was elected in Daugavpils, our second biggest industrial center. Then there were the famous elections at the "RAF" [Riga Truck Plant], which acted as a stimulus to many of the country's collectives.

[Proskura] And the term "production democracy" became current....

[Pugo] Yes. Although it is not entirely accurate. Democracy cannot be confined to "production." The strength of restructuring is that the democratization process it has begun has affected all aspects of society's life. For instance, the elections at "RAF" were followed by competitive elections of the party raykom first secretary in Gulbene. Today this democratic procedure for the nomination and appointment of leadership cadres has become a firm part of the life of many labor collectives and party organizations.

For instance, the first secretary of Leningradskiy party raykom in our capital was elected from two candidates—V. Teyvans and Yu. Lyalin. Both candidacies were recommended to the plenum by the raykom bureau, which was divided in its opinions. Teyvans—a deputy gorispolkom chairman—probably had a better chance initially. He was well known in the rayon, where he was secretary of the Kosmomol Raykom and was on the party raykom. Lyalin, the rayispolkom chairman, was really on the reserve list for the post of first secretary. He too is a respected, authoritative man. And the contenders' programs were similar, too. In short, this duel could be called a contest of equals. Teyvans won. Lyalin, remaining in his former post, actively continued his work. A strong leadership "tandem" emerged in the rayon. And things went well. The republican party Central Committee recently approved the initiative of Leningradskiy Rayon Soviet, which, with the support of the raykom, initiated the acceleration of housing construction, particularly on the basis of enterprises' own resources.

[Proskura] People in the republic have also been talking recently about the experience of Riga's Leninskiy party raykom. Roving microphones appeared here 2 years ago at plenums and meetings with labor collectives. Of course, that is only a detail. What is the essence of the changes, the raykom's new approaches?

[Pugo] First and foremost, it is that any issue here is first studied and tackled "from below"—by raykom members and the Communist deputies of the local soviet. They keep their fingers on the pulse of life and study all the population's problems. And then they act through Communist economic leaders and through the party group on the rayon soviet....

Experience and restructuring convince us of the correctness of such approaches and the need for them. The office style and command methods must disappear from the work practice of party committees. But you will agree that this awareness is insufficient in itself. After all, it is necessary not only to renounce old habits and stereotypes, but—which is far more difficult—to seek and

master new paths in working with people and in resolving problems. Here, alas, the party committees are not always keeping up with the times. An example is the passions which flared up over the construction of a subway in Riga.

[Proskura] Yes, the people of Riga remember the demonstration held in the city's Arkadiya Park. But the participants also raised other problems, ecological problems, for instance, which have yet to be resolved in the republic.

[Pugo] Quite true. And incidentally, it was not the gorkom and gorispolkom, but the environmental conservation club that held that rally. The city authorities and their social aktiv were unable to find their feet in this situation or analyze it in depth. The supporters of the subway certainly have weighty arguments. But while listening to them you cannot fail to take into account also the widespread opinion that the priority should be to construct housing, improve surface transport arteries, and create an up-to-date system of purification installations. There proved to be two viewpoints and positions on how to tackle the question of the subway. The mass media organized a discussion of them. But the result cannot be called constructive. A part was clearly played by the fact that the city authorities themselves were not sure that they were right, and did not offer people a meaningful, well substantiated program. Therefore the debate was conducted in generalities. The republican government has now taken the right decision: A special commission has been set up under the Council of Ministers, which will consider all the "pros" and "cons." Then, perhaps, there will be a city referendum, or a sociological poll will be carried out. For the time being, I suppose, we will tackle the priority problems of our capital's social and cultural life, and the people of Riga will be able to analyze the long term more calmly.

As for the disputes which arose, I repeat: There is no need to fear them, but the debate must be carried out with knowledge of the matter in hand. I apply that demand in particular to the party committees. Restructuring demands competence.

[Proskura] But that, you will agree, is impossible without autonomy. How, in the conditions of democratization, are relations developing between the republic Communist Party Central Committee and the party committee?

[Pugo] I will answer by giving an example. We were talking about the "RAF initiative" and competitiveness and glasnost in elections of secretaries of party committees at various levels. This was preceded by research studies, and recommendations, first and foremost methodological recommendations—from the republic Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, the Latvian State University sociological service, and so forth. The Communist Party Central Committee leadership consulted with scientists and practical workers. Their opinion, experience, and predictions formed

the basis of our recommendations to the party committees. And they were given more in the form of advice than of circulated instructions. We proceeded on the basis that the path to the democratization of party life cannot be laid by the steamroller of commands and orders. Other methods are needed—persuasion, example, action.

[Proskura] And how is the nature of these actions changing? After all, even before, the party committees did not sit idle—they led, managed....

[Pugo] You are right. But today what is more important and necessary is to guide. That is why the question of political methods of leadership, the fact that much has been neglected in this area, is so urgent today. And the situations arising in life are themselves making us act differently.

An extraordinary Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in the republic recently. We invited all the delegates elected to the conference, and we decided to consult and discuss with them the political situation in the republic. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that against the background of restructuring and the democratization of public life, recurrences of nationalism and chauvinism are occurring. There are elements that are issuing pamphlets and inciting national discord. Certain so-called "informal" societies seek to involve citizens in various street actions under speculative, provocative slogans written at the prompting of Western radio stations.

These instances arouse natural alarm and concern among the inhabitants of the republic, first and foremost the Communists. So the discussion at the Central Committee plenum was justified, everyone was waiting for it. There had already been a plenum of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union Board with the participation of leaders of other creative unions. But the discussion of certain key problems of socioeconomic and spiritual development by representatives of the artistic intelligentsia took place without proper political analysis. Certain debatable propositions which were incorporated in the resolution were taken up by irresponsible elements.

Unfortunately, in this situation our mass media also lacked militancy. They were very timid in assessing negative phenomena and often lagged behind the events. Certain party committees were also not always able to give a speedy rebuff to opportunist "currents."

The Central Committee plenum oriented the republican party organization toward an uncompromising approach in ideological and educational work. The plenum resolution met with the support and understanding of Communists and nonparty people. Labor collectives and working people of all nationalities are voting for it at meetings and rallies.

Both at the plenum itself and after it, the atmosphere of militancy and principle and the firm confidence that no attempts to push through alien ideas and feelings in the guise of socialist pluralism will succeed has become even more firmly established. Restructuring must gather speed, it will grow stronger—we are all agreed on that. And that is what we are taking to the conference.

Anti-Stalin Rally in Moscow Reported

LD2506233588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1910 GMT 25 Jun 88

[From the "Before and After Midnight" program, presented by Vladimir Molchanov]

[Text] Here is a brief report: This meeting took place today in Moscow. Those taking part in it are calling for a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions. Tens of thousands of signatures have been gathered in many towns around the country for an appeal to the 19th party conference calling for a reexamination of the question of putting such a memorial. This appeal was handed over to a group of conference delegates today. [video shows people at mass meeting, one woman wiping tears from her eyes; report concludes with long-range shot of building marked 'Dynamo Sports Stadium' with crowd gathered outside it]

Blast at Yaroslavl Meat Plant Kills Two

LD2406171488 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT
24 Jun 88

[Text] Yaroslavl, Central Russia June 24 TASS—A refrigerator storage exploded at the Yaroslavl meat-processing plant today, killing two workers.

The accident occurred as a high-pressure pipe in the refrigerating system of the plant burst during maintenance work and let out ammonia into the atmosphere.

The gas filtered into an adjacent building and ignited. Two workers were killed. Five people were admitted to hospital.

"The consequences of the accident could have been greater," said Vladimir Vatin, an official placed in charge of the effort to eliminate the effects of the blast. "All alerted services—gas rescue, fire brigade, security and transportation—promptly fulfilled their duties.

Technological process was stopped in time and people were evacuated. Children from kindergartens were evacuated from the assumed danger zone, and tenants of nearby houses were warned."

The accident was localised by 1:30 p.m. The all-clear signal was given in the area by six o'clock.

A special commission is studying the causes of the accident.

Gorbachev Attends Pushkin Hall Charity Soiree

LD2606180588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Text] A charity soiree was held at the Tchaikovsky Concert Hall today. All the contributions that have been collected will go to set up the Pushkin Concert and Exhibition Hall in the former Bolshogo Vozneseniya Church at the Nikitskiye Vorota in Moscow. Lyudmila Semenyako and the USSR Bolshoy Theater Ballet Soloists Invite You—these words are inscribed on the special poster advertising the soiree. An exhibition of facsimile reproductions of French impressionist paintings was organized in the foyer of the hall, named after the great Russian composer. The Kontsertina Chamber orchestra performed in the Winter Gardens.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his spouse were present at the soiree.

Christian Millenium Celebrations End in Kiev

AU2206140888 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "On the Occasion of the 1,000th Anniversary of the Christianization of Rus—Celebrations Dedicated to the Millenium of the Introduction of Christianity in Rus Ended in the Ukrainian Capital City"]

[Text] On 16 June V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, received a large group of participants in the jubilee celebrations—representatives of the clergy of the Orthodox Church of Rus, as well as of various churches and religious organizations in a number of foreign countries. N.A. Kolesnik, chairman of the Council for the Affairs of Religions under the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, participated in the meeting.

On behalf of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government, V.S. Shevchenko warmly welcomed those present. During these days, she said, Kiev is hosting prominent ecclesiastical figures from various parts of the world. It was precisely from here, from the land of ancient Rus, that Christianity spread all over Rus, and here are the sources of our history, statehood, and culture.

During the jubilee celebrations, foreign guests have been able to see for themselves the extent of the benevolent attitude assumed by the Soviet state to the Orthodox Church of Rus. Like all over the country, the speaker emphasized, in the Ukraine all citizens enjoy the constitutional rights of freedom of belief. The audience was told that more than 6,000 religious communities belonging to 14 various denominations were active in the republic. The state gives them constant assistance in creating conditions for normal activity. Religious communities use, free of charge, more than 4,000 buildings

of worship, including many protected monuments of church architecture. Some 105 churches and prayer houses were built or reconstructed in the republic in the last 3 years alone.

We highly value, V.S. Shevchenko continued, the support that those participating in the celebrations voiced in their sermons and speeches for the policy pursued by our country to strengthen peace, to stop the arms race, to eliminate nuclear weapons, to enhance the processes of restructuring in Soviet society, a policy aimed at renewing the economy and spiritual life, at boosting discipline and everyone's responsibility, and at cultivating high moral qualities in people.

While noting the vigorous peace-making activity of the Orthodox Church, V.S. Shevchenko told the guests: One of the emotional moments in the celebrations was the wreath-laying ceremony in the Park of Eternal Glory. During World War II the Ukrainian people, like all Soviet people, suffered enormous losses. The present task facing both believers and nonbelievers is to preclude the repetition of the horrors of war.

In his speech of reply, Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich Filaret, patriarchal Exarch of the Ukraine, expressed thanks for the high appraisal of the peace-making activity of the Orthodox Church, and for the great assistance on the part of the state in the preparations for and in observing the jubilee. This, he said, is evidence not only of restructuring, but also of the good relations established between the state and the Church. The millennium of the christianization of Rus is our common festive occasion. The importance of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with Patriarch Pimen and members of the Holy Synod was very great. Our distinguished guests satisfied themselves once again that restructuring was taking place in the Soviet Union, not in words, but in deeds. And they saw these big changes at every step.

The Orthodox Church has never separated itself from its people, Metropolitan Filaret said. We regard it as our task to contribute toward the renewal and spiritual growth of our country's citizens. The Exarch of the Ukraine recalled that the particular council held in Zagorsk called on the Christian world to take advantage of the 12 years left to the year 2000 for the struggle to completely eliminate nuclear weapons.

The meeting was attended by N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, and V.P. Osnach and P.T. Tronko, deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

On the same day the participants in the jubilee celebrations participated in a liturgy in Kiev Pechersk Abbey, and in a supplication near the monument to Prince Vladimir on Vladimirska Hill. They visited churches and monasteries in Kiev, the monument to the Ukraine's

reunification with Russia, and saw the exhibition of the "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45" memorial complex.

Our meeting in Kiev was of very great importance, said Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, chairman of the Roman Catholic Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. The celebration of the millenary jubilee of the Orthodox Church of Rus transcends the frontiers of the entire Christian world. Our Kiev meeting and the participation in the celebrations were in essence an experience in the dialogue which is the order of the day. We would like to regard this dialogue as the beginning of a new stage in civilization. I wish the Orthodox Church of Rus successes in carrying out its mission in the new millennium that has now begun.

"We have to work together for the sake of peace," said Emilio Castro, general secretary of the World Council of Churches. "In this wonderful service, we—the churches of the North and the South, of the East and the West—should be together, because the task facing us all is to participate in shaping man, in the struggle for peace."

"For me, the participation in the celebrations has been a joyous historic moment," said Billy Graham, well-known American preacher. "On these festive days it was a matter of particular importance for me to pay my first visit to Kiev, and to see the great city, an important cultural center. Together we commemorated an event that is important not only for the Soviet Union, but also for the entire world."

"The recent meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Ronald Reagan, the U.S. President, marked a turning point in the relations between our countries," Billy Graham emphasized. "We welcome the desire of both sides to go along the path of peace. Let us then hold out hands to each other across the frontiers that divide us, in order to advance together."

Foreign Correspondents Interview Nina Andreyeva
LD2406112188 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0950 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Leningrad, June 24 (TANJUG)—Nina Andreyeva, whose letter was published in the Soviet daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in March this year and characterized as a manifest of conservative forces, has written another open letter addressed to the Soviet Union Communist Party conference scheduled for the end of the month in Moscow.

The first letter reflects the attitude of those forces in the Soviet Union which are opposed to the policy of perestroika, democratization and the renewal of Soviet society. Unofficially, there were rumours that the author, Nina Andreyeva is a fictional character and not the only author of the letter.

Nina Andreyeva is a professor of physical chemistry at Leningrad's Faculty of Technology. In an interview to five foreign reporters, including TANJUG correspondent, Nina Andreyeva confirmed that she was the sole author of the letter, that she is not an imaginary person and that she has sent a new letter to the upcoming party conference and PRAVDA, organ of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

The response to my first letter was enormous. So far I have received over a thousand letters. Every day comrades from all parts of the country come to Leningrad to see me and to talk. I have received letters from the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany.

85 percent of the letters express support for the stands I uphold, Andreyeva told reporters.

Nina Andreyeva says that she favours the improvement of socialism through all forms, but only if they are based on the principles of socialism. Socialism is the only system we can have here, claims Andreyeva. It is a young social order, with only seven decades of experience so that it is quite natural for it to suffer from childhood diseases.

The fact that Soviet historians, writers and scientists are writing of the Soviet past and of the way that socialism should be, is in fact digging through dirty linen, said Andreyeva.

Nina Andreyeva says that she does not know what will be the fate of her new letter to the party conference. She says that she has not had any unpleasant experiences with the Soviet authorities over her stands so far.

Leningrad Delegation Leaves for Conference
LD2606093988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0730 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Summary] Today the delegation of Leningrad Communists is leaving for Moscow to attend the party conference. The more than 600,000 Communists in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast are being represented by 176 people. On the eve of their departure, Gerasimov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU City Committee, and other delegates met on television with the collective of the Kirovskiy factory association.

Conference Delegate Registration Begins
LD2506162588 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT
25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—The registration of delegates to the 19th all-union party conference began at St George's Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace today.

Zaykov at Meeting on Conference Preparations
LD2506135688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] A meeting of Moscow delegates has been held at the Moscow Gorkom. Comrade Zaykov summed up the results of the preparations by Moscow's Communists for the all-union party conference. It was noted at the meeting that the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee's Theses has been completed in the city's party organization. During the discussion more than 134,000 specific proposals and additions were submitted. They are still continuing to be received at present. All the proposals have been generalized by raykoms and gorkoms and have been sent to the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting analyzed the main tasks facing Moscow's Communists, some of the city's problems, progress in drawing up the Progress-95 comprehensive program, a new general development plan for the period to the year 2010, and other programs for the capital's development.

Journalists Briefed at Conference Press Center

Separating Party, State Functions
LD2406132988 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT
24 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—"The separation of the functions of party, government and state bodies is a key condition of democratising society's life in the USSR", says Rudolf Yanovskiy, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. He met with journalists today at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference.

He said keen attention will be given at the party conference to the question of the role of party bodies in administration and that judging by everything the conference will formulate a number of proposals on separating the functions of the party and the state. "The soviets (elected councils) should have full power in the state while the party should elaborate prospects of social and economic development, deal with matters related to personnel and conduct ideological and educational work in society", Rudolf Yanovskiy said. He stated further that the idea was to cardinaly change the structures of party and state bodies. For instance, it is expected that departments of party bodies concerned with economic matters will be abolished and their functions handed over to soviets. He added that there also would be a reduction of the staff of these bodies.

'Complete Unity' on Issues
LD2406170588 Moscow World Service in English
1500 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Director of the Social Sciences Academy at the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Rudolf Yanovskiy, has said one of the central tasks facing the party at present is the development of new forms of grassroot work. Dr Yanovskiy was speaking at a

press center of the coming 19th national conference of the Communist Party. He said lately a great many people were increasingly involved in politics and that necessitated the task of giving them political culture and ethics. He also said the coming party conference is to focus on the party's role in society.

In reply to a question about any disagreements in the Central Committee on issues of the policy of restructuring, Dr Yanovskiy said any such talk is absolutely baseless. He said there is complete unity in the Central Committee on all the cardinal issues.

Laws To Be Liberalized

LD2606111488 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—"Revolutionary changes are taking place in methods of regulating the socio-economic life in the USSR with the help of the law", Mikhail Vyshinskiy has said. The deputy minister of justice of the USSR met with journalists today at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference.

Vyshinskiy believes that the essence of these radical changes consists in the following: Until recently the socio-economic life was regulated by the method of bans and restrictions according to the principle "all that is mentioned in the law is allowed." In connection with the processes of perestroika and democratization of life as a method of permission—"all that is not forbidden by law is allowed"—has been coming into prominence in the past three years.

"The methods of permission in regulating the socio-economic life means a legal expression of the freedom of behaviour of an individual, of his choice of this or that way of actions at his own discretion. When this method becomes the principal one in social practices, the code of Soviet laws will be turned from a code of bans into a code of people's freedoms." Vyshinskiy recalled that today the method of permission was actively used in all the laws adopted in this country.

Recently, no permission of the authorities is needed for creating a cooperative. "The only thing needed for it is to really create a cooperative and to come for its registration to a local executive committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies," Vyshinskiy said.

Touching upon the problem of legal guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika in the USSR, Vyshinskiy said that numerous legislative proposals were discussed today that would consolidate achievements in the processes of perestroika and democratization in society. He cited as an example proposals on the working out and adoption of the laws on socialist property, on the fundamentals of the management of socialist economy, on glasnost (openness) and on changes in the electoral

system. "This program of legal guarantees of the irreversibility of perestroika will be discussed and put into practice in the shortest possible time," Mikhail Vyshinskiy said.

Penal Code Reforms Planned

LD2606144288 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—The fundamentals of the Soviet penal laws, including the articles providing for responsibility for anti-Soviet propaganda, will be thoroughly revised, said Mikhail Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy justice minister. He met today with newsmen at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference.

The USSR deputy justice minister singled out a number of the basic trends making the foundation for the revision of the penal laws in the USSR. "They are, in the first place, decriminalisation of actions, i.e. the rating of actions, which are so far considered to be criminal offense, among the acts punishable under the administrative law, or their placing in general outside the limits of the effect of the penal laws."

Mikhail Vyshinskiy noted that the other trend in the perfection of criminal laws is humanisation of the punitive measures, above all a sharp reduction of administering capital punishment. The question is also discussed of cancelling capital punishment as a punitive measure. Another aspect is a sharp reduction in such a measure of punishment as deprivation of freedom, exile and expulsion. Mikhail Vyshinskiy said that a change has been achieved in applying that measure of punishment in recent years. "While five or six years ago deprivation of freedom made a half or more of all the measures of punishment, today it has been reduced down to nearly 30 per cent." Other severe measures of punishment will be eliminated too. At the same time broader use will be made of such measures as fines, [word indistinct] labour, reprieve of punishment.

Answering the question of a correspondent of the "Voice of America" on how powers will be delimited in the new situation between the state security bodies, courts and the Procurator's Office, Mikhail Vyshinskiy said that the activities of the state security bodies are carried out within the framework [words indistinct] the KGB [words indistinct] not only by the rules of its [word indistinct] but also by the penal laws, the code of penal procedure and civil law.

In the context of the reform of penal laws, some changes are possible here within the framework of the triad—decriminalization, humanization and toughening of judicial control over the activities not only of the law enforcement, but also other government bodies.

"The Procurator's Office exercises close control over the KGB's activities," Mikhail Vyshinskiy said. "Therefore there is no need to change that institution. There was and is procurator's supervision, and it will remain so [words indistinct]."

As far as the relations between the courts and the KGB are concerned, every case comes to the Procurator's Office upon completion of investigation by the KGB bodies, which brings the charge, and the court examines the case. "I do not know from my experience of recent decades a case brought and conducted by the State Security Committee that was not examined in court according to the existing rules of procedure. No deviations from that in practice are allowed," Mikhail Vyshinskiy said.

Nationalities on Agenda

LD2606132988 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT
26 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—"Underlying the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh is a totality of problems rooted in insufficient economic and cultural development of the autonomous region, questions of inter-ethnic relations. Responsibility for the current situation there shall be borne by no means by the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, but the bodies and persons, who were called upon to ensure the development of that region in accordance with the requirements of life and the Soviet nationalities policy," said Mikhail Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy minister of justice. He was addressing today newsmen in the press centre of the 19th party conference.

Answering the question about the possibility of the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR, Mikhail Vyshinskiy said: "According to the Constitution of the USSR, a change in the boundaries between the neighbour union republics is possible only with their mutual consent." He recalled that the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR turned to the USSR Supreme Soviet with the request for the handing over of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region to that republic. At the same time the highest state authority of the Azerbaijan SSR did not agree to that way of resolving the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"Until the decision of the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region is taken by Azerbaijan the Constitution allows of no change in the boundary of the republic's territory. Every republic in the USSR is a sovereign union state," the USSR deputy justice minister said. In his opinion this question shall soon be discussed by the Supreme Soviet.

At the same time Mikhail Vyshinskiy noted that albeit the USSR Supreme Soviet has full legislative power in the country, its powers on that issue are limited. It is entitled only to endorse the corresponding decision on

the consent for the turning over of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of the supreme soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR.

Touching upon the possibility of double administrative subordination of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region both to Armenia and Azerbaijan, Mikhail Vyshinskiy said that the USSR has no such precedent and that would be hardly expedient.

The resolution of the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh is approached on the basis of the observance of the interests of the peoples and nationalities of that autonomous region and the principle of internationalism, he stressed.

In the opinion of Mikhail Vyshinskiy, the process of perestroika and the drive for more democracy have brought to light the problems of sovereignty, of the socio-economic development of the union republics, including the Baltic ones. Thus Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia favour that they be granted active sovereignty in the field of finance, ecology and other aspects of their activities.

"These problems will be discussed comprehensively and thoroughly at the upcoming plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which will discuss the questions of the nationalities relations in the USSR. It is also necessary to examine questions pertaining to the rights of the union republics, distribute the rights and duties in the union relations in a new way in accordance with the requirements of today and tomorrow," the USSR deputy justice minister believes.

Trotsky Rehabilitation 'Necessary'

LD2706092188 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT
27 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—"The success of the structural reorganization of Soviet economy depends on a profound democratization of the party and society, the division of functions between the economic management and party bodies. Democratization provides for complete openness (glasnost) in the assessment of history of the CPSU and the Soviet state. This is the opinion of Otto Lacis, Dr of sciences (economy), deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST, who addressed a press conference today at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference.

Answering a question about a possible rehabilitation of Trotsky, Otto Lacis said that, in his opinion, civic rehabilitation of Trotsky was necessary because of criminal charges unjustly brought against him. A party rehabilitation is a different thing. "I do not think there are grounds for that. Trotsky was expelled from the party not in 1937, but in 1927 for his anti-party activities", Dr Lacis said.

Afanasyev on Glasnost in Press

LD2706103388 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT
27 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—"We strive to find a constructive solution of ripe problems without renouncing, naturally, criticism of negative phenomena", Viktor Afanasyev, editor of PRAVDA and chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists, said today. He spoke at a press conference at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference on the subject "democratisation and glasnost—a key condition of developing the social activeness of working people".

Noting that numerous articles in the Soviet press were raising acute problems Viktor Afanasyev at the same time expressed concern that some publications did not have a positive programme. "We need criticism like air but criticism alone will not take us far, we need publications on advanced experience of perestroika", Viktor Afanasyev said. PRAVDA, for instance, actively popularises the experience of work in the new conditions of the Moscow builder Nikolay Travkin and vigorously protects him from unjust criticism.

Asked whether there exists a mechanism of selecting articles for publication "in the spirit of glasnost and the requirements of perestroika" the PRAVDA editor said: "Yes, such a mechanism exists. In PRAVDA it is the collective work of the editorial board and the paper's journalists. We are well informed, we are invited to attend meetings of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, we often have meetings with the party's leaders. These meetings are held not only with us but with Soviet journalists in general. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev had five meetings with representatives of the Soviet press after the congress of the Union of Journalists of the USSR in March 1987. The last meeting took place on May 7th."

"In the field of glasnost, in the field of democracy our success is greater than in the economy," said Nail Bikkenin, editor of the magazine KOMMUNIST. "This is evidenced, in particular, by the lines of people in the morning queueing up to buy newspapers. In the past it was enough just to read PRAVDA to know everything. Now this is impossible. Competition has appeared in the press."

"The Soviet party press should not be of an exclusive nature. Various opinions should be represented in it. This was how Lenin perceived the Soviet press," Bikkenin went on. "Lately, for instance, the magazine KOMMUNIST printed articles by the well known American economist Leontief and the deputy director of Fiat Anieli. We have asked the economist Noen to write an article for us and we will publish a material by Stephen Cohen. The pages of KOMMUNIST are open to foreign authors," Nail Bikkenin said. He invited those present to attend a meeting of the magazine's editorial board.

Presidium To Direct Conference

LD2706110388 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT
27 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—A tradition for the CPSU principle will be observed at the 19th all-union party conference—the conference will be steered by a Presidium that will be democratically elected at the first session, it was announced today by the head of the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference Yuriy Sklyarov. He spoke at a press conference devoted to the subject "democratisation and glasnost—key condition of developing the social activeness of the masses." The Presidium will adhere to democratic principles of conducting the forum and take into consideration the opinions of delegates and the delegations from various regions of the Soviet Union.

The floor will be given in the order it is requested, Sklyarov said further. "Of course, if the number of requests for the floor from some one region will be clearly too big the Presidium will regulate the order of the forum's work so as to ensure the presentation of a broad spectrum of views with due account for the country's entire geography," Yuriy Sklyarov went on. If not all who wish to speak will have the time to address the conference, he said, we have the democratic practice of including in the minutes the texts of the speeches that they wanted to make.

Presidium's Functions Described

LD2706140188 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT
27 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—Representatives of mass media organs from 77 countries will cover the 19th all-union party conference, Yuriy Sklyarov, head of the press centre of the forum of Soviet Communists, told journalists today.

Out of 465 special correspondents who expressed the desire to come to Moscow for covering the party conference 251 have been accredited by today. Apart from it, 684 Soviet journalists and a large group of foreign correspondents permanently working in the USSR have also been accredited, Yuriy Sklyarov said.

When the conference is at work, correspondents will receive all the information they may need at briefings held at the press centre upon the end of each working day of the party conference. Apart from it, materials necessary to journalists and TASS information will be coming to the press centre.

Georgiy Kryuchkov, deputy head of the department for the organizing party work of the CPSU Central Committee, told journalists that 5,000 delegates had been elected to the 19th all-union party conference in accordance with the earlier established norms of representation.

Items of the agenda, including the duration of the conference, the adoption of resolutions and others on which decisions will be taken will be put to vote.

Answering a question about the procedure of an election to the Presidium of the conference, Yuriy Sklyarov said that according with the practices formed at party congresses and conferences, representatives of delegations of the republics, regions and districts got together before the opening of the conference for coordinating and approving candidatures to the Presidium that they intended to propose. The Presidium will be elected right at the conference which can disagree with preliminary proposals and come up with new ones. We believe that this is a democratic procedure, Sklyarov said.

Yuriy Sklyarov reported that, as a rule, a short opening report is usually made at the opening of a party congress or a conference by one of the party leaders, possibly by its general secretary. Then the Presidium, the Secretariat, the editing and mandate commissions are elected. Then the time-limit and the agenda are approved. After that the Presidium will take their seats and the report will be made. "This is the most probable order of the opening of the party conference," Yuriy Sklyarov pointed out.

Two of the delegates to the conference were recalled, Georgiy Kryuchkov said, answering questions of journalists. In both cases the problem was settled in a democratic way by the body which is to make decisions on such problems, specifically, by plenums of the regional party committees on the basis of materials that became subject to discussion after the election of delegates.

Zagladin on All-Union Conference Agenda
LD2406174688 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in English 1400 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] In a few days, on 28 June, the 19th national party conference will be opened in Moscow. Five thousand persons have been elected as delegates to this conference, members of the Soviet Communist Party, representing the most varied sections of Soviet society. Our correspondent met one of the delegates to the conference, a prominent Soviet political researcher, Vadim Zagladin, and asked him to tell us about the agenda of the conference. Professor Vadim Zagladin is now at the microphone:

[Begin recording] [Zagladin in Russian with superimposed English translation] The conference, according to the agenda, will discuss two issues. The first, the results of the first years of the perestroika started after the April full-scale session of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee in 1985; and the second, the utmost attention will be given in studying problems of democratization of our society and problems and prospects of perestroika. As for the first issue, it will concern a critical analysis of the perestroika itself, the course it is taking, and its first results. This will be a most important

discussion because there are more barriers lying in the (?wake) of perestroika than we (?had) thought. Consequently the first task of the conference is to determine the weak points of the perestroika and to liquidate them, or at any rate to outline ways for liquidating them. The second task deals with the prospects. Here the main thing is the democratization of society. Actually it will entail the creation of the basis and to guarantee the irreversibility of perestroika. Perestroika will not be able to develop successfully if all the people will not be enlisted in it, with all of their creative forces. This is precisely the task that calls for the democratization of our society.

[Unidentified correspondent] What in your opinion is the international aspect of our perestroika over our new thinking?

[Zagladin] This question is quite a (?varied) one. Perestroika itself has become a major event of international significance and it is only natural that it required the introduction of certain corrective measures, not only in the sphere of domestic policy but also in the foreign policy activities of the party and the state. Even after the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1986, an important meeting was held at the Foreign Ministry at which Eduard Shevardnadze spoke, following which Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a big speech. It was then that for the first time changes were discussed that should be introduced in the functioning of our foreign policy so that it would be aligned in keeping with the world situation and with our own new tasks. Another reason that called for changes was the analysis of the road traversed by our foreign policy, as outlined by Lenin and his decree on peace.

But on the other hand, there were various stages along the way and various periods. The effectiveness of our policy has not always been the same. In the Theses of the Central Committee of the 19th Party Conference it is pointed out that the foreign policy has a mark of all those developments that were characteristic also for the country's foreign policy [as heard], that is dogmatism and a subjective approach. We did not always react to the actions of our adversaries adequately. In particular, we permitted ourselves to be dragged into the arms race, which brought quite some difficulties to this country. Of course, it is essential to defend our country. Like any other country it requires defense. But this defense should be built on principles of reasonable sufficiency. The way to settling international problems should be sought not in the arms race, not in military-strategic measures, but in measures and methods of a political nature.

And so all this has been thoroughly analyzed and on one side it served to produce a new conception of our foreign policy, while on the other side it provided a new program. And in the basis of the programme lies the

statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, dated 16 January 1986, on a nuclear-free world and the plan for the creation of a most comprehensive system of international security advanced at the 27th congress of the party.

And that is how perestroika has been implemented in the sphere of our foreign policy. Today it is a policy that combines our national interests and takes due (account) of the lawful interests of other nations. It is a policy that builds its activities on the basis of state diplomacy, interstate relations, and at the same time principles of people's diplomacy, and the active participation of the masses of people. It is a policy that combines the struggle for general human interests with the struggle for social progress, which is expressed at the present stage of the struggle for the right of each nation to freedom of their social and political choice. [end recording]

Korotich Cited on Theme of Party Conference
LD2406171788 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0230 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, comrades, we will be telling you about yet another paper, the MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA. We have with us today the chief editor of that newspaper, Konstantin Vyacheslavovich Shcheglov. Over to you Konstantin Vyacheslavovich.

[Shcheglov] Thank you. The theme of the open and deeply felt discussion before the party conference, which you were talking about 3 minutes ago, is the main one on the pages of today's edition. Writer Vitaliy Korotich, chief editor of OGONEK and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, presents his frank thoughts about acute problems today on the pages of the newspaper. Perhaps many viewers do not know that he was originally a doctor by profession. As is known, his path to the tribune of the party conference was rather difficult.

[Announcer] He is now in the Kherson delegation.

[Shcheglov] Quite right. He was elected to the Kherson delegation and in response to this, Vitaliy Korotich thinks that the bureaucracy has prevented the election of many people not to its liking. However, there are sufficient people in the register of delegates who are their own men and who have not forgotten themselves. He says that means the discussion will be all the more acute at the party conference. The party forum at a time that is so complicated for the country is not like the Olympic games, where the main thing is to participate; here it is essential to win. He tells how, in his opinion, the process of restructuring is proceeding with difficulty and in a complicated way. Restructuring is first of all the humanization of our society. This deeply felt discussion, these ideas he shares with his colleagues, the colleagues of his first profession, is continued by the readers of our newspaper with their letters to today's edition.

Delegates Discuss Status of Restructuring

PM2606100188 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 22 June 1988 in its Second Edition carries on pages 1 and 3 under the headline "Renewing Life. Meeting at the Editorial Bureau of Authors and Writers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Articles Who Have Been Elected Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference" a 6,000-word V. Denisov and Yu. Nikolayev report on a roundtable discussion held at the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office on restructuring in Soviet society. Noting that restructuring processes are proceeding "painfully slowly," the participants discuss at length detailed examples of the progress of restructuring drawn from farming, mining, retailing, metallurgy, and ecology in their respective regions. V.N. Klevtsov, deputy chairman of the labor collective at the Cherepovets Metallurgical Plant, states that: "It is only superficially that everything is in order. In actual fact democracy and glasnost have only been proclaimed, but the way has not been cleared for them yet."

N.I. Travkin, deputy chief of the Moscow Oblast Main Administration for Construction, states that although nobody "openly" opposes democratization many chiefs and even ministers take the view that their subordinates can "hold meetings and write resolutions as much as they like as long as they do what I say." He later goes on to advocate that the party conference resolution should stipulate that "the first secretaries of all party committees should be elected directly by a plenum on the basis of a secret ballot."

The discussion concludes with the following contribution from V.V. Bakatin, first secretary of Kemerovo CPSU Obkom: "What concerns us? I don't know whether the participants in our 'roundtable' noticed this, but at meetings with oblast Communists the question is often asked: Why as we draw nearer to the conference are certain newspapers showing more and more alarm about the outcome of restructuring? One very often encounters expressions like 'Rubicon' or 'the last resolute battle'.... Workers and engineers are asking: Will we be able to defend restructuring? And from whom do we have to defend it? The Central Committee Theses give no grounds for concern. A reversal is already impossible. The processes of restructuring have undoubtedly become irreversible. But, of course, it must be said that everything is not that simple. It is not just the debates in the Palace of Congress that will determine the fate of the revolutionary changes in our life. The outcome of the struggle that has begun will depend on labor collectives and primary party organizations. It should always be remembered that without metal, coal, cement, or grain we won't be able to get anything moving. And the contribution to restructuring will be most considerable in the areas where there is most work to be done.

"Nobody should have any doubt or concern about the fate of restructuring if we enhance the role of the party. We often say and write that we must return to Lenin's

understanding of the essence and concept of socialism. Now is the time to ponder on Lenin's understanding of the party's role too. It is no secret that there have been attempts to shake party discipline and pander to the desire of certain groups to place the party under their control. We firmly state that these attempts are in vain. Discipline in the party will be strengthened on the basis of party comradeship, creative and interesting work, and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

"The Theses give us an opportunity to think about how to restore Lenin's understanding of the principle of democratic centralism, what changes should be made to the procedure for setting up elective organs, and how to eschew excessive formality in work and the lack of independence of certain party organizations. There are too many sundry instructions handed down to us, we must liberate people. This will undoubtedly strengthen the party and increase its prestige.

"As Ivan Vasilyev correctly and aptly noted in the summary of his speech at the conference, it is particularly important to try to turn party committees at all levels away from differences of opinion and toward unity in practical actions. Nobody will carry out this most urgent of tasks for us."

Party Conference Delegates Interviewed
LD1906222588 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by political commentator Aleksandr Tikhomirov]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] Our Voronezh correspondent Lev Maksimov suggested doing this interview. Two delegates to the party conference have been elected in one rayon—the first secretary of the raykom, and the head of a big farm. Is it in fact not the relationship between them that today determines the fate of restructuring in rural areas to a large extent? We started by talking about petty tutelage of economic workers, about which a lot is said today. Is it not time to put an end to it?

[Begin recording] [V.I. Sherstyukov, identified by caption as first secretary of Novousmanskii Rayon] How about this: You come out to the fields, and hay harvesting is in progress. Let us say that according to the technology, the hay should be turned. It has been lying there for 2 days already and the order needs to be given for it to be turned. Well, is he supposed to not see it and know it? The idea I am coming back to is that we must select cadres by their qualities so that they are enterprising, so there is no need later to prompt them saying: That is what the technology requires. Selection is the very foundation.

[Tikhomirov] So you think this should be the basic work of the party committees?

[Sherstyukov] I think that is the basic work of the party organizations—selection of cadres for their business qualities, for their moral qualities so that they are competent people. Then there will be no need to always keep an eye on them and prompt them on such minor economic matters.

[Tikhomirov] I will disagree with you insofar as there have previously been instances where business-like people, real masters, chairmen of collective farms and directors of state farms, have existed in the rayons, but have not got along with the first secretary; people have even been put in prison just because they were not obedient. I will ask you now, can just any chairman be put away, or not?

[Pavlenko, identified by caption as director of Maslovskiy pedigree farm] In principle, as certain lawyers—sorry excuses for lawyers, of course—say, if those are the orders, then a reason will be found.

[Sherstyukov] Of course, I do not agree with that way of putting things. Although we often hear in the press, on the radio and television, about such cases, I could not name any such examples in our rayon.

[Pavlenko] No, not here, certainly not.

[Tikhomirov] But now we are not talking about a rayon. You are a delegate to the party conference, and we are talking on the scale of the whole country.

[Sherstyukov] Such things should not happen. For example, I look at these things like this: Every person is a life, a great life; it is his life. There are many subtleties that one must go into very deeply. Particularly with leading cadres, one must never jump to conclusions. [end recording]

[Tikhomirov in studio] That is precisely why we brought the theme up in the conversation with the delegates on the eve of the party conference. The stories of Chairmen Khudenko, Starodubtsev, and dozens of others remain on the agenda. Is it really so that those who decided people's fates not in the interests of the cause, but for the sake of strengthening their personal power, have now been reformed or departed from our horizons? After all, perhaps these instances accounted for only a thousandth of a percent, but the harm they did went in a geometric progression paralyzing people's initiative and will.

[Begin recording] [Tikhomirov] You are a good man. One can see that from the fact that you have been elected as a delegate to the party conference. But people who are not all that good are also getting in. There is a mass of articles, and a mass of instances today where it is not right, and a bad person ends up in this position. Where is the mechanism that might counter a bad person?

[Sherstyukov] To begin with, we are talking about democratization, we are talking about glasnost. If the party organization is healthy, and suddenly some upstart

bureaucrat emerges, let us say from among the ranks of the party workers, then a healthy party organization is in a position to set that Communist right. It can also put things right another way. It can put forward two or three candidates and hold a secret vote. What we would get is that this party organization, be it a rayon one or a primary one, will elect the person most worthy of it; that would be the most democratic way—two or three candidates, and secret voting. That is my opinion.

[Tikhomirov] Do you think so as well?

[Pavlenko] It is a difficult question, and one needs to think a good deal before answering it. But it is a question that must be asked, and of course it must be settled. That is that.

[Tikhomirov] Well, you probably have a chance now. You must discuss it at the party conference.

[Pavlenko] Quite right. We will talk at the party conference. I think everyone is going there with great hopes for our society to be genuinely democratic, and for what happened in the past never to be repeated. [end recording]

Delegates, Public Anticipate Conference

LD2406205988 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1745 GMT on 24 June carries a 10-minute video report on the CPSU conference. Yevgeniy Sinitsyn, identified by caption as a commentator, interviews A.M. Brechikhin, first secretary of the Sevastopolskiy Raykom in Moscow, who notes that in Moscow for the first time rehousing, repairs, modernization, and demolition of five-storey apartment buildings are to begin by way of an experiment in four microrayons. He stresses the importance of feedback from the public through "democratization and glasnost."

Vyacheslav Gorbatin, a lathe operator and conference delegate from Kaluga, says in an interview that there should be more openness in the work of raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms. Gorbatin says it is not the case now that—in a view cited by Sinitsyn—"workers will vote for anything you like." Gorbatin says: "The workers are different now." The video shows people holding discussions in Moscow streets. People are "talking of changes with hope," says Sinitsyn. He continues: "To use a metaphor, each of us has in this short period of time evolved from consumer to philosopher. Previously, someone did our thinking for us; now our own heads are filled with our own thoughts." Sinitsyn elicits the following from passers-by in the street: "I want restructuring to start functioning properly. A very large number of factors have until now been hindering this." "May Gorbachev win." "May restructuring win; may Gorbachev win." "Stalinism must be destroyed; I believe it must be eradicated totally."

Soviets Polled on Upcoming CPSU Conference LD2506210088 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 25 TASS—TASS commentator Vladimir Isachenkov writes:

An overwhelming majority of Soviet people, who come out in favour of further democratic transformations in the party and the state, are convinced that the CPSU's 19th all-union conference which opens in the Kremlin next Tuesday will become an important stage in the development of Soviet society.

This is indicated, in particular, by the findings of a public opinion poll taken by the Institute of sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences and which covered 1,800 people in nine cities of the Soviet Union.

In the questionnaire it was suggested that respondents should express their attitude to the problems set out in the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee for the 19th Party Conference. It must be recalled that the Theses point out the need for in-depth and all-round democratisation of the party and society and raise the question of involving broad masses of working (?people) in managing the affairs of the state. As a result of perestroika, the political system of Soviet society, the Theses emphasize, should become dynamical, capable of timely renewal with due regard for the changing conditions of domestic and international life.

Commenting on the results of the survey, Viktor Britin, Dr of science (philosophy), emphasized that the most topical matters, in the opinion of respondents, are a clear-cut separation of functions between the party, local-government and economic bodies, limitation on the term of office for leading party positions, the introduction of (?election) of all leaders on a democratic basis, and effective monitoring of the activities of the leadership on the part of the people.

It must be added that the Theses map out specific ways for accomplishing these tasks. In particular, it is suggested that one and the same term of powers—five years—shall be established for all party committees beginning from district and city level. The holding of elective positions in the CPSU should be limited by two terms. Election to a third term in succession may be held only on the initiative of the Communists and would require a preliminary decision on allowing the nominee to run for election.

Most of respondents are convinced that democratisation of inner-party life will promote a rise in the prestige and influence of the CPSU in Soviet society. Only three percent of people who filled the questionnaires adhere to the opposite point of view. Approximately seven out of every ten respondents believe that it is necessary to change the procedure for the shaping of party ranks. Their opinion is that it is necessary first of all to get rid

of careerists and to avoid granting party membership according to quotas depending on social and class affiliation, and to extend the candidate member's probationary period.

The centre for the study of the public opinion of the Institute of Sociology is one of the main sociological services of the USSR. Over the past year it has taken a number of opinion polls on the problems of democratization and glasnost, individual enterprise, economic reforms, and new political thinking. Viktor Britvin pointed out that next opinion poll would deal with the results of the work of the party conference.

Medvedev on All-Union Conference Expectations
LD2406222088 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1920 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From the "Panorama" program; no video available]

[Excerpts] Next week Moscow will be at the center of world attention. The CPSU national party conference will open on Tuesday. Peter Horvath and Sandor Lukin are already in Moscow and have sent this report about the mood and the expectations. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] One of the interesting Moscow intellectuals engaged in politics is the Marxist historian, Roy Medvedev. He has dealt with the illegal acts committed in the Stalin period for many years and in many books. His studies written in Moscow were for a long time published mainly abroad. In 1969 he was expelled from the party. Now, as we have learned from him, the offer has been made for him to return to the party ranks. We visited him in his home in Moscow.

[Medvedev in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] In a party which comprises not only workers but in whose work intellectuals also take part, there is a need for a particularly large amount of freedom. There must be freedom to debate, to form groups, to exchange opinions; there is a need for press freedom, and so on. This was not present in our party, and is only now developing; it is only now that there is scope for free debate inside the party. In my opinion this freedom will now continue. These debates must be continued even when the majority view has evolved. Thereafter the minority view must also be preserved and defended, because the minority helps the majority to (?solve) the tasks of the country.

This cannot, however, be shown in advance because there is no culture of democracy, of debate, here. The slogan which we constantly meet in the press—namely that we must learn democracy—is particularly timely for us. We have not been taught democracy.

[Correspondent] There is tremendous expectation in advance of the 19th party conference. What is more, there are those who dream that these 4 days will shake, if not the whole world, at least the Soviet Union. Do you agree with these expectations?

[Medvedev] I agree with what you have said about the expectations. However, when I am asked about what I expect from the conference, I always say the same thing: I expect surprises and nothing else. There are many ideas as to what will happen at the conference but no one knows precisely what will be realized. This is because many things will be decided only on the first day by the delegates themselves. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Readers Discuss Economic Reforms, Cadres
WA18000396 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[Letters from readers under the rubric "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses"; italics as published]

[Text] Alternative to the Ministry [subhead]

I am very concerned about the selection of the way of restructuring economic management. The role of ministries and departments remains not fully understandable. After all, the Law on the State Enterprise proclaims the independence of labor collectives from ministries. Nor do the CPSU CC Theses clarify this matter completely.

Self-administration and self-financing give labor collectives the right to solve many production problems. Why then do we maintain the huge apparatus, which has now become useless and at times even harmful? In order to pay tribute to "respected people"? After all, the ministry cannot help commanding and interfering. There people will not want to realize that one can manage completely without them. Therefore, as any useless body, it will try to prove its "importance."

In general, an efficient antibureaucratic mechanism is needed. For example, instead of hundreds of committees, administrations, and ministries, we could establish an economic information center, including in it the most important elements of services of Gosplan, Gossnab, the State Committee for Statistics, and other departments and restructuring them fundamentally. This center will not be a collection of "commands," but a bank of data, recommendations, and so forth. Every enterprise, if it wants this, will presents the necessary report on its activity, including in it the assortment of output, quantity, prices, plans, and so forth. The center will help to select the optimal production variant, the consumer's address, and the type of product and will give recommendations on the application of a certain invention, change in prices, and other important economic information.

Naturally, information should require payment. This will stimulate the center's work according to the principle "more deeds with small forces." Furthermore, an

enterprise will be able to "sell" the developed efficiency proposal or an invention at a profit to the center, which will sell it to interested clients.

S. Dymskiy, fifth course student at the Forestry Engineering Academy, Leningrad

Debtors...by Order [subhead]

The success of restructuring in localities largely depends on how central departments carry it out. We agree with the idea expressed in the CPSU CC Theses and the 19th all-union party conference: "Restructuring at the level of sectorial ministries obviously lags behind restructuring at enterprises." It is almost a year and a half since the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry transferred us to self-financing. It did this like throwing a man not able to swim into water.

We turned to PRAVDA for help and at the end of last year the newspaper published the material "Profit...Under Snow" about our disastrous situation. After that the ministry helped in something, but the plant continued to be in a difficult situation, especially with respect to the provision with accessories. In 4 months we did not receive, in particular, from the Leningrad Carburetor Plant imeni Kuybyshev, 11,125 carburetors and, naturally, we underdelivered consumer goods—spare parts—worth R2.5 million.

The disorganization in production and disruption in the labor rhythm lead to the necessity of working before and after lessons and on days off and holidays. People are dissatisfied and the turnover and outflow of manpower from the plant are growing.

How are we to engage in self-financing if, according to work results, in 4 months of this year we paid R200,000 of fines and obtained R150,000 of profit less than envisaged? Over R1 million less than envisaged from the turnover were given to the state budget.

The enterprise's trade-union conference asked minister N. Pugin and A. Kashirin, chairman of the Trade-Union Central Committee, to give concrete help in improving deliveries from the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry, primarily from the Leningrad Carburetor Plant. However, matters are not moving yet.

The following words also appear in the CPSU CC Theses: "It is necessary to condemn uncompromisingly actions that distort the essence of the economic reform and directly or indirectly undermine the Law on the Enterprise." We would like to propose: Not only to condemn, but also to strictly punish those that act in this manner.

M. Marchenko, G. Semenova, A. Prus, and other representatives of the labor collective at the motorcycle plant, Kiev

To Look After the Manager [subhead]

I often have occasion to deal with economic managers. In their majority they are exceptionally decent, honest, and industrious people. They are deeply devoted to the cause of our party and the state. They possess quite high erudition and skills.

A shocking figure—18 million—settled in the minds of many of us. Not long ago the State Committee for Statistics made it more precise: 17,718,000. So many workers in our country are employed in the administrative apparatus. It goes without saying that the army of managers is big. A part of them can and should be reduced. However, upon closer familiarization with the essence of the matter it becomes clear that the basic apparatus of economic management bodies (all-union and republic industrial associations, trusts, and so forth) comprises 0.6 million people, that is, about 5 percent. The main material values in our society are created with their direct participation. The bulk of the conductors (according to K. Marx's figurative comparison), who do their utmost so that musicians (workers) play less out of tune, that is, work better, are concentrated in these 5 percent. As we know, quite a great deal depends on the conductor.

How do these conductors-managers live? Who are they? How did they get to head the orchestra-collective? We raised these and other questions in the course of a special investigation among economic managers.

To the question "If you were to start everything from the beginning, would you have liked to be a manager?" one-third of them gave a negative answer.

This is explainable. The present manager works essentially under extreme conditions until he is worn out—on the one hand, a lack (at least at first) of experience in practical work and of special managerial training and a gradual disqualification as a specialist and, on the other, a steady increase in demands.

Means of mass information also have their effect. Everyone is talking about the published articles on abuses on the part of managers. They cause a completely justified indignation. Unfortunately, the ominous shadow of the "heroes" of these published articles is cast on many thousands of honest people, whose contribution to our economic development is vast. It is already difficult to find a person for the position of a shop chief and even a plant director. Then how can we talk at all about the selection of managers? After all, a selection is preference given to one out of two candidacies or more. And what if not only two do not exist, but even one does not exist?

According to the data of medical science, the risk factor for getting a heart attack has occupied the first place among directors and chairmen recently. Therefore, let us together look after managers. Their talent and health are public property.

V. Travin, candidate of philosophical sciences, Moscow

A Superfluous Link? [subhead]

All those that closely followed the course of party committee plenums analyzing bureau work on the management of restructuring, to be sure, noticed that quite often they discussed the following situation: Two rayons are located next to each other and hardly differ in the conditions and material base of production and labor resources, but the results are different. At times the difference is significant. What is the secret here?

Party members most often drew the following conclusion: It lies in the different level of party management and organizational and political work of party committees. Analyzing the method of this work, as a rule, participants in plenums did not disregard sectorial committee departments either. A great deal of sharp criticism was leveled at them and the question whether they were needed at all was raised. Is this not a superfluous link? It seems that with due regard for this the CPSU CC Theses stated the need to make changes in the structure and composition of the party apparatus.

If we go back to rural raykoms, there the sectorial department, usually, is one—agricultural. What does practice show here? We shall try to generalize it on the basis of a study of numerous published addresses at and materials of the mentioned plenums, which discussed the work on restructuring, and the sociological research on this topic recently conducted by us. The research was conducted in 12 regions in the country, in such large party organizations as those in Khabarovsk and Krasnoyarsk krais and in Kirov, Sverdlovsk, Tula, Chelyabinsk, and Ulyanov Oblasts, as well as in a number of rayon party organizations in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Moldavia.

The introduction of collective, lease, and family contracts and the mastering of advanced innovations in production are now the urgent concerns of rural areas. How, in the opinion of those questioned, do agricultural departments contribute to this? Only 10.9 percent of the raykom secretaries consider their work on the introduction of intensive technologies satisfactory. Only one out of 11 (9.3 percent) spoke positively about the effect of departments on the application of new equipment in plant growing and animal husbandry. Many activists are convinced that raykoms should deal more with personnel work, the preparation of a reserve, control and check of the execution of adopted decisions, and increase in the activity of party members in production. At the same time, they persistently advise that raykoms give up day-to-day, in any form whatsoever, work on the management of economic affairs, not prescribe what to do and when, and not prepare compulsory orders. Sectorial departments, most of all, sin with this, pushing the committee into the old rut.

The participants in the questionnaire stress that without new approaches to work with people raykoms will hardly be able to affect restructuring in the economy actively and to uncover the potential inherent in the new forms of management in a full volume. Adopting them, kolkhozes and sovkhozes will try to manage things not the way someone not directly involved in this likes and not the way this is advantageous for the report, but according to the laws of cost accounting and technical progress. Having no other choice, the committee will have to find methods of helping them in this. Apparently, the wishes of party members to give rayon party committees more independence in the solution of problems concerning the structure of the apparatus within the framework of a certain wage fund and general staffs are not devoid of common sense. Let them themselves decide for what period and for what purpose they need a sectorial department.

Ye. Okhotskiy, head of a department at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee

Issues Raised by CPSU Theses Considered
PM2006161188 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS
in English No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 13

[Boris Kurashvili article: "A Time of Political Decisions"]

[Text] Thinking about the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th Party Conference, one invariably asks the question: What is really happening at this crucial turning point in our political history? Perestroika is the negation of two essentially different but interdependent periods at once: the 25-year period of Stalinism, and the more than 30-year period of stagnation.

The first period, justly condemned for its lawlessness and mass tyranny, marked the building of socialism (even if it was regimented, authoritarian and limited) in one separate country; the country's conversion from a backward nation into an important industrial power, and victory in the greatest war in history. During the second period, justly praised for revealing and preventing a repeat of the former cruelties and injustices, the country through inertia held its own as a military and political "superpower", but slumped back into a state of relative economic backwardness, wallowed in social indifference and moral devastation, and compromised socialism rather than elevating it. The crisis of socialism became a depressing and menacing reality, appealing to the intelligence, honour, conscience and common sense of revolutionaries.

The outward, obvious but still-frequently ignored reason for the crisis was the "re-bureaucratization" of the administrative system after the 1950s. The bureaucratization that operated for three decades with growing intensity turned an authoritarian regime into decaying authoritarian-bureaucratic one, and turned "mobilization", limited, "Stalin" socialism into the stagnation, bureaucratic, "Brezhnev" socialism.

Bureaucratism dealt socialism a formidable blow by getting tangled up in precisely those deep-seated objective processes which are capable of producing great social upheaval and change.

There is a tacit agreement in operation between the bureaucratized administrative apparatus and masses of insufficiently conscientious or simply inert and obedient workers which says that the apparatus retains its power, the opportunity to perform its functions unsatisfactorily, and to enjoy its special privileges, while the workers are remunerated just enough for their half-hearted efforts to more or less make ends meet.

Relations between the political leadership and the administrative apparatus underwent a special evolution. In the years of "Stalinism", the apparatus was fully subordinate to policy. In this respect, the years of stagnation fall into two unequal parts. Under Khrushchev, there was a queer combination of healthy "de-Stalinization", turbulent but superficial and often clumsy attempt at reform, and the beginning of what can be called dual power (in an organizational rather than a class sense). The political leaders were trying to carry out their own policies while the bureaucratized apparatus was largely carrying out its own. Under Brezhnev there was a long and trouble-free time of amicable dual power. The political leaders proclaimed their good socialist intentions, looked the other way when they weren't implemented, and themselves became part of the bureaucratized apparatus. Dual power remains one of the most characteristic traits of the first years of perestroika. Nowadays, that amicable dual power is becoming more of a conflict. And this is a source of hope and worry. The crucial battle, now at its height, is aimed at putting an end to dual power in favour of political leadership.

Critique of the last fifty years of our history from a democratic point of view has been so devastating and degrading, and the dissatisfaction with our middling achievements and blunders so acute, that statements about socialism as a "system that doesn't pay" have become rather frequent. It is even being said that the February Revolution was necessary, but the October Revolution was unwarranted. There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of people reject this view and would not place themselves under the power of moneybags in a bid for prosperity, no matter how severely this power is limited and humanized through democratic forms foisted on it. Socialism has the right, the opportunity and the duty to make another attempt to prove its progressiveness and viability. Several years of perestroika will, most probably, be followed by several generations of positive and constructive competition between socialism and capitalism. But competition can only begin after the elimination of the economic backwardness now present in socialism. Ending it is our main objective.

The objective can only be reached through restructuring the governmental sector of the economy. It would be naive to think that the only answer is cooperatives and individual enterprise. Politicians understood this and proposed the Law on State Enterprise. But since bureaucrats interpreted the Law in their own way, it has become half-hearted, compromised. The Law's declarations are good, if not a little verbose. The part that follows them about the norms is in essence quite conservative, if one doesn't let himself be deluded by the new verbal garb on old relationship (like calling the old obligatory production targets "state-placed orders"), or by the important but indecisive concessions made by bureaucrats regarding the organization of self-government at enterprises. With the adoption of this Law perestroika lost its first decisive battle, but it pretends not to have noticed this and takes it instead for victory. True, the Law on Cooperatives has partially avenged the defeat, but only partially. Really freeing collective farms from the risks of state-placed orders and from the assignment of production quotas is perhaps problematic. Bureaucrats who effectively use their position in the system of dual power substituting reform with semireform, and then with sham reform in the hope that politicians will fail to notice. Or they may put on a smiling face and simply say that everything is going just fine. What are the most probable prospects for perestroika? I think that the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee got them absolutely right. Summing up what the Theses say, and adding to them new and perhaps controversial ideas, we come up with the following "tomorrow":

A new Law on State Enterprise will be adopted. Directive planning will be openly practiced in several sectors where planning is essential, but will be openly abolished in most of the national economy. Honest competition will become unavoidable, but controllable. Public ownership will remain intact, but enterprises will have a certain amount of national property under their economic control. The free use of property will be ensured by a whole set of legal rights. Along with state-run enterprises, there will be enterprises owned jointly by the state and shareholders (workers of an enterprise may hold up to 49 per cent of its assets). Collective farms will undoubtedly be turned into cooperatives. New cooperatives will be encouraged in every way possible, but on the condition that there is real competition, and this primarily from the state-run enterprises. Joint ventures will continue to grow, but without any feelings of euphoria—with a clear understanding of their socio-economic makeup and without encouraging any new forms of parasitism. The party and state apparatus for the administration of the economy as well as the number of departments will be reduced to approximately one-tenth their current number. And the departments and employees that remain will see the light at the end of the tunnel as their responsible role and relative independence becomes recognized. They will be encouraged, taken care of, and rigid tabs will be kept on the final (not intermediary) results of their work.

These measures will perhaps be sufficient enough to isolate bureaucrats and unconscientious workers, and to re-educate those for whom there is still a ray of hope through the system of cost accounting.

Inner-party democracy will be restored, primarily through Party-wide discussions where the majority of members are guaranteed a chance to voice their opinions and state their positions on decisions adopted by Party bodies (similar to referendums). And the practice of openly discussing competing platforms will be introduced as well. The party will dissociate and free itself from its decaying, wilful, bombastic and jabbering bonzes. It must create the Central Control Commission elected by a Party Congress and accountable only to Party congresses once proposed by Lenin. The commission will have analogous bodies in all the Republics and localities. A constitutional norm will be introduced ensuring that the Party, its agencies and organizations (not only its organizations as they are today) are operating in accordance with the law. Direct administration by the Party will end and the Party will again begin learning the methods of political guidance. It will influence the adoption of government decisions exclusively via those Soviets and Party organizations within the governmental apparatus which have no directive powers. Real power will be restored to the Soviets which have no directive powers. Real power will be restored to the Soviets which will be there for good, and no high officials will be able to be elected to them. A mass public and political organization will be set up to form the organizational basis for the Soviets. This will not be "a second party", although will have some of the functions of a political party. Procedures inherent in the "division of power" will be introduced on an even wider scale. The administrative apparatus will be reduced to approximately 20 departments. The Republics and localities will obtain their real power. Glasnost will become the legal right of all citizens to unclassified, socially important information and they will be able to contest in court the denial of any such information requested.

In the area of international relations, the policy which has already emerged will take final shape and congeal. Under modern conditions of a general crisis of capitalism, obvious signs of crisis in the socialist world, the global military and political crisis, and mounting ecological and demographical crises it will be admitted that conducting a policy of uncompromised hostility between the two systems, invariably leading mankind to nuclear, chemical or biological suicide, is highly unreasonable and impossible. Of the two main objectively possible and rational political courses—the policy of capitalist-oriented and the policy of a socialist-oriented rapprochement—the USSR will choose the latter. It will be seen as the natural policy of a socialist state and in keeping with the fact that the epoch of uncompromising struggle, i.e., the 21st century, has begun. This reconciliation will be seen as growing cooperation between the two systems. And while their rivalry will not completely end, it will continue in forms that don't end, it will

continue in forms that don't spell catastrophe for mankind so that in the future there can be a synthesis of both policies, and a peaceful, evolutionary emergence of universal forms of social life, suitable for future generations.

Our country has a tradition that hardly makes sense. Political decisions should be substantiated theoretically. No arguing about that. But who should do it and how? Lenin, who combined the exceptional qualities of a theorist with those of a politician, was able to do it alone. The results were not always satisfactory, though. Think of the idea that socialism is incompatible with commodity production. It resulted in a lot of political tangles before it was finally renounced. With Lenin's "successors" things were worse which is perhaps only natural. There are exceptions, of course, but in general, researchers and politicians should do their jobs separately. The division and cooperation of labour are features typical of development. Science does the more abstract and simple job—which of course requires special abilities—of discovering and comparing alternatives. Politicians are supposed to do the highly specific, more complex and responsible job of choosing the best alternative and basing their choice on a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. When politicians evade making specific decisions and offer superficial theories instead, this is not normal. Our country expects concrete political decisions.

PRAVDA Editor Address on Party Role
LD2706004588 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1740 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Studio Address by V.G. Afanasyev, CPSU Central Committee member and PRAVDA chief editor—live or recorded]

[Text] Currently, on the run-up to the 19th party conference, there is very lively, I would say intense and at times stormy, discussion of the question of our party's leading role in society, of the correlation of the party's function with the functions of economic local soviet, and voluntary organizations. This is no simple question. It was raised by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Unfortunately it still remains, by virtue of a number of reasons, unresolved; by virtue of lack of tuning of our economic mechanism, when party bodies are compelled to intervene in economic life; by virtue of shortcomings in our material and technical supply system, when party bodies are compelled to assume the role of pushers or fixers of given raw goods and materials or components; by virtue of the weakness of our domestic services, when party bodies are compelled to engage in this work, public catering, trade, and other spheres of our everyday life and culture.

The situation is changing now, and we must determine more precisely what the party's work is, and what is the work of other organizations. This is what you get: If there is the smallest shortcoming of any kind—say, some factory has not fulfilled its plan in some town or another, or the streets are dirty, or trade is in a state of neglect—then the city or rayon party committee unflinchingly takes

the blame, along with the first secretary. This is unnatural. Why? Because there are people who are responsible for given spheres of social life, and the main thing is that you must make these people answer, you must appoint the right people, make these people responsible and keep a check on their work.

It is currently being said in our press, in particular, that the party must free itself of the job of guiding the economic life of our society. But I believe this is incorrect. Why? Because the party in our country is a ruling party; it is responsible for everything. It is responsible for the economy, for the political system, for social life, for our spiritual life, for educational work. The whole point lies in how, in what way is the party called upon to implement its guiding role. It is quite natural that the party elaborates the strategy of our movement, the strategy for both domestic and foreign policy—and first and foremost the economic strategy, because the economy is the basis of everything.

Currently, when we are speaking of restructuring, when we are talking a great deal about our superstructural phenomena, we must never forget that we must first of all resolve economic problems: problems with the food supply, problems with the production of high-quality consumer goods. Naturally, without the party's strategic line on economic policy, the field of the economy, we, in our society, simply cannot get by.

Let us go on to foreign policy matters. This is also the party's prerogative. Also, cadres policy—this prerogative cannot be taken from the party, because after all the party is responsible for this; it is responsible for the key positions in all spheres of our social life. Of course, regarding the electoral nature of the selection process—that is, democracy in the leading bodies—the party must direct this process. Otherwise, it would become chaotic. Such a very important, very delicate field of work as educational work, or ideological work, is also party work. It is both the right and the obligation of the party.

Currently, as you probably know very well, we are having a lot of trouble in the field of national relations. This concerns Armenia and Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh oblast, and certain Baltic republics. There are many excesses; many very unpleasant processes and phenomena have occurred there, and things are still not calm there. What is the point here? The point is that we have simply neglected internationalist education. We have somehow forgotten to take into account the interests, the specific interests of those numerous nations and ethnic groups that live in our country, and there are more than 100 of them. Nor are we taking due account of the interests of the indigenous nationalities living in one or another republic. That is, we are faced here with a failure in ideological work, in educational and internationalist work.

I believe this is also the party's preserve. As I have already said, the party is called upon to implement guidance of all spheres of social life. But how? Primarily through the Communists who work in these spheres, through the Communists whom the party selects, whom the party supplies, whom the party recommends for action. Matters that relate to the development of our democracy regarding the election of the organs of power and of our economic leaders simply cannot be taken away from the party.

But the party must stop being a fixer, stop intervening in the day-to-day running of the economy. On specific matters, the fulfillment of the plan, ways and means of fulfilling the plan, of running industry, agriculture, and transport—all this is the work of specific economic personnel.

Perhaps the most acute matter is that of the party's correlation with the soviets of the working people's deputies. If often happens with us that a joint decision is made, a party decision—a party organ makes a decision jointly with economic bodies or with local soviet bodies. It makes a decision, and a mistake can be made. Then there is no one to hold responsible. This occurs quite often.

For this reason the party retains this important function: as a check on the work of cadres, a check on fulfillment of party decisions, party and state decisions. Of course, there is no doubt about this. There can be no dispute. The role of the soviets of the working people's deputies must be enhanced in the most resolute manner. More responsibility, more freedom in the work of these soviets—our organs of people's power. More democracy in the training, selection, and election of these people. Clearly, collectives have a serious need—and I think this will be discussed at the 19th party conference—for a system of elections for our organs of power, and it must be made genuinely democratic.

On questions concerning the party's role, the polemics that have now developed around the leading role of our party in society, there is very much that gives rise to disquiet. Perhaps the most dangerous thing is the fact that there are both direct and veiled attempts to dissolve the party, somehow to level the party in society, to substitute for it or place it under the control of some people's front, fatherland front, or patriotic front. There are even proposals for the creation of a new party, a restructuring party. We must understand once and for all that in socialist society there are no political grounds and no social reasons for the creation of a new, different political party—and still less for the creation of some kind of control organ above the party.

At issue here, clearly, is enhancing the role and authority of the party itself, of the party organizations themselves, enhancing their vigor. But this vigor can only develop along the road of further developing internal party democracy, along the road of closer and closer links

between the party organizations and the masses, the working people, the peasants, our intelligentsia, the creative intelligentsia. The main point, perhaps, lies in the fact that we must enhance to the utmost the general standard of our party personnel, the competence of our party personnel. This bears particularly on our economy, when, under the scientific and technical revolution, one has to deal with the most up-to-date machines and mechanisms, with state-of-the-art technology. It bears on the field of culture, in which particular delicacy is needed, particularly high standards, knowledge—not just a prohibitive attitude, not just an evaluative description of one or another cultural phenomenon.

I think the Theses to the 19th Party Conference write about this very well and strongly. At issue is not political pluralism, but pluralism of opinions, discussions, debates, searches for various alternatives, comparison of these alternatives, assessment of these alternatives, and selection of the best alternative. Only when decisions are not made in secret or in the silence of some office, but with broad participation of party activists, of all party members and nonparty masses, when we get broad discussions under way in the country and learn a high discussion standard, can we move successfully toward restructuring.

It cannot be denied that at times our discussions turn into squabbles, applying labels that are used in the interest of cliques, of one or another group. But now in the period of restructuring as never before the unity of our party is needed, the unity of our people. We should not disperse our strength, particularly the strength of our press organs, or our men of letters, our artists, artistic figures, the intelligentsia in general. Only when we are able to raise our organization, our vigor, when we are able skillfully to combine the interests of our society, of the collectives and of the state, and take into account these interests, take into account the interests of our regions, the interests of the nations and ethnic groups, can we move on a broad front toward restructuring, of successfully restructuring.

A great deal of work, of course, remains to be done here still. We must develop some new mechanism of democracy, a new mechanism of mutual relations between party and nonparty people so there will be no discrimination against nonparty people. Unfortunately, we still encounter this. We must abandon various kinds of quotas in admitting people to the party, and raise our demands toward party members, especially in the selection stage.

There are proposals. Performance appraisals could be conducted among party members. There is talk of a purge, but I think a purge is not needed just now. Besides discord and unpleasantness it will not give us anything. But some sort of assessment, an assessment of party members by the party collective itself, by the labor collective where they work, could, I think, be useful conducted. Many steps are being proposed. We at

PRAVDA are currently receiving mountains of letters: If we previously received 500,000 letters a year, then now it is 750,000. PRAVDA and the other press organs see their task as extracting as many positive proposals of various sorts as possible—various kinds of advice, remarks, desires—so as to concentrate and accumulate this public opinion and select what we need, what works for us.

This, I think, is one of the main tasks of party organizations and of all our other organizations, not least the press organs. If we take a look at our press organs, we can see that their critical spirit has grown sharply, especially in the central press. Let us be blunt: We have gained experience in criticism. We can criticize all sorts of things. This is very easy to do. Wherever you point your finger, you can find shortcomings everywhere. Yes, criticism is necessary. We must review our history; we must fill in the blank pages in our history; we must evaluate historical figures, our deeds; we must assess our miscalculations and our achievements.

But I think that with criticism alone, however earth-shaking or sensational it might be, we will not get very far. The main thing now is the resolution of problems, the constructive resolution of problems. It is a quest for the advanced experience of restructuring. We still have so little of it, we must search for it. We must sustain it and disseminate it. In this regard, PRAVDA has done a lot, I think. There was a time when they nearly wanted to put Nikolay Tratkin, the famous construction worker from the Moscow region, in prison, and it was only an appeal in PRAVDA, and the appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich at a CPSU Central Committee Plenum, that saved Tratkin and put him in the high position he now occupies. There is a whole series of other facts that I could cite for you. That Ukrainian engineer (Chabanov), the director of a factory, a very interesting, progressive man whom they persecuted and drove out of the party, and against whom many other sanctions were applied—it was also our appeal that helped him become what he now is and what he always was, a true fighter for restructuring.

I could give you examples from other organs of our press. There are many such examples. Special decisions by the party Central Committee have been adopted after a whole series of articles in PRAVDA and other press organs. That is, I want to say that our main work now is constructive work. Without reducing to any degree the level of criticism and self-criticism, we must all the same put our main emphasis on seeking out, sustaining, and disseminating our advanced experience. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also spoke of this at the latest meeting with journalists, on 7 May this year. This will apparently be discussed at the 19th party conference as well.

Briefs

Book on Perestroika

Moscow June 21 TASS—Articles by intellectuals on the most acute questions of radical restructuring of all aspects of life in Soviet society have been included into

the book "INOGO NE DANO" ("There Is No Other Way"). Its presentation has been held at Moscow's "Progress" publishers today. The collection deals with a broad range of issues: economy, history, culture, ideology and politics. The readers will familiarise themselves with the views of academicians Tatyana Zaslavskaya, Andrey Sakharov and Nikita Chernichenko, Alekandr Bovin and many others. The main distinctive feature of the new collected articles is a free and full expression of the views of the authors, who are people of different ideas. Hence, the sizeable difference in the solutions to the problems they propose. "The range of views expressed in the book is vast," historian Yuriy Afanasyev, the editor of the book, said. "Diverse approaches are expressed to the most knotty problems involved in renovation of socialism. All the authors are united by their sincere interest in the success of perestroyka." [Text] [LD2306024288 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 21 Jun 88]

Ecology Steps in Baku

It is well known that from an ecological viewpoint Baku is one of the bad towns in the country. At a recent session of the Baku Soviet of Peoples Deputies, basic decisions were adopted on making the environment more healthy. In particular, one of the harmful works in the republican capital is to be shut down beginning on 1 (?July). A petition on a full cessation of sulphur-bearing crude oils processing at the Baku enterprises and on banning the construction and operation of new oil processing installations has been sent to the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry and the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers. [Text] [LD2506023988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 24 Jun 88]

Petrovskiy Awarded Red Banner

Moscow June 26 TASS—By a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Boris Petrovskiy, full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for his services in the development of medical sciences, the training of scientific personnel, and on the occasion of his 80th birthday. [Text] [LD2706015488 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 26 Jun 88]

Economic

News Conference Held on Economic Reform
LD2406223288 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The 19th all-union party conference press center is continuing its work. [video shows five speakers on platform and audience of journalists] Soviet and foreign journalists had a meeting today with prominent specialists in the realm of the national economy,

who are delegates to the conference. In a few days they will have to defend their convictions at the rostrum of the party forum. There was a businesslike and interested discussion about the progress of the implementation in the Soviet Union of radical economic reform.

Stressing that new ways do not triumph alone, since it is a matter of radical changes in the economy and the system of management, Academician Abalkin said in particular:

[Begin Abalkin recording] This reform is a struggle—a struggle between the old structures of management and methods of economic management inherited from the past and stereotypes in thinking and the new principles, approaches and structures, and so on. It is a completely natural process, and the gravity of this struggle between renewal and conservatism and the sharpening of this struggle is in itself an indicator of the depth and radical nature of the transformations being planned. It is within the framework of these problems that very complex processes are at present under way, beginning from every work collective and low-level collective and going right up to top levels of national economic management. [end recording]

[Announcer] Vagin, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Koverninskiy Rayon, Gorkiy Oblast, spoke of the need for the complete independence of farms and the elimination of petty surveillance by administrative bodies.

Journalists were interested in the issue of a broadening of direct links with foreign partners. Shkabardnya, the USSR minister of instrument making, automation equipment, and control systems, noted that economic reform has given an impetus to such cooperation. However, much still needs to be learned at least in improving commercial work.

Speaking of the need to overcome manifestations of monopolies in the economy, Travkin, head of the No 2 State Production Association for Construction, noted that without socialist enterprise, or, in other words, competition, it is impossible to achieve quality or a sufficient quantity of consumer goods.

Those taking part in the news conference replied to numerous other questions from journalists relating to specific areas of renewal of the country's economic mechanism. The news conference was chaired by Sklyarov, the director of the press center and head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department.

Further on Briefing

LD2506032388 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Excerpts] A news conference was held today at the 19th all-union party conference press center. Its topic was: The radical economic reform in the USSR. Our correspondent Vladimir Nazarov reports:

[Nazarov] Today we journalists accredited to the all-union party conference met delegates to it: Mikhail Sergeyevich Shkabardnya, minister of instrument making automation equipment; Academician Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin; Nikolay Mikhail Grigoriyevich Vagin, the honorable [znatnyy] leader of a kolkhoz in Gorkiy Oblast and hero of socialist labor; and Nikolay Ilich Travkin, deputy chairman of the chief oblast construction committee, a hero of socialist labor, and, if one can put it this way, a chief designer of collective contracting.

You know, if all delegates think the same way as the delegates who answered our questions today, then there are no worries about the fate of restructuring. Its irreversibility is ensured. I say this so confidently because all of them have a clearcut platform. These people are concerned about restructuring. They are its guardians and main protectors. Incidentally, the first question from foreign journalists was this: What is economic reform, as the conference delegates see it? Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, the director of the Institute of Economy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, answered this question:

[Begin Abalkin recording] The first thing about the reform is that it is a process. It is not a one-time action or some campaign. We have been preparing for about 2 or 2 and 1/2 years for the beginning of serious radical changes in the administrative system. This time was spent on assessing the situation that has arisen and seeking ways to lift our economy from the extremely difficult situation in which it found itself, and to develop the content of the reform, its principles, and stages in its implementation.

We are now in a new stage in the reform, a stage when a transition is taking place from developing the content and adopting decisions to a mass comprehensive mastering of the new principles of economic management. This stage will probably take 2 and 1/2 or 3 years. The second point that I would like to discuss has to do with the understanding of the fact that the reform is a struggle. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Nazarov] What are the advantages gained by industries from the new conditions of economic management? Minister Ivan Sergeyevich Shkabardnya is perhaps the most competent to answer this question:

[Begin Shkabardnya recording] Ministries, and our ministry in particular, received full independence in foreign economic links last year. They can use their understanding to conclude contracts and to use these means for new technologies and new equipment. I would say a very exciting and interesting life has begun. [end recording]

[Nazarov] We journalists also had an interesting life, just as much as did those who answered our questions. They did this with very great pleasure, by the way. Just listen to the profoundly competent and passionate answer by Nikolay Ilich Travkin about the essence of the state order [goszakaz]:

[Begin recording] [Travkin] The fact that the state order in its full capacity is bad is recognized by us all; but it has not been defined so far. [sentence as heard] We do not know what the state order is. We just say that this is the whole program and that is it. As far as opportunities for economic competition are concerned, I think there is no other way to obtain good quality goods or an abundance of them. In fact, industry or construction, for instance, have very good conditions for competition to emerge even tomorrow. What are they providing? They provide ministries as a commanding body. If one removes ministries as commanding bodies, we have on the surface a whole range of enterprises enjoying equal rights and approximately equal capacity, and producing one type of goods.

In other words, there is a possibility for competition to emerge. But we cannot now abandon the command system completely. This is the main brake on restructuring, as I see it, and the main brake on development of our socialist competition. As for specific steps, I would say: On cooperatives—I have production cooperatives in mind, rather than those from the consumer services sphere where pies are being baked; let us take cooperatives in construction—the level of organization of labor, which emerges there, is immediately considerably higher. Therefore, their results are higher, too, than at a state enterprise.

Then state enterprises ask: Why is this happening? They have the same means of production and the same people who have fundamentally the same qualifications, do they not? So, the first thing is that personal interests coincide with owning means of production. Moreover, personal interests do not contradict public interests. They are now plugging up all the holes so that our sluggish large-scale state economy could not pierce them.

The second conclusion that our state enterprises draw is that cooperatives are working better because they are not ordered around by anyone. No one has the right to push them around.

[Vagin] I would add a little bit on agriculture: The planning of the state order greatly damages agriculture. They plan for us what is not profitable. Where will we get our profits from then, if this does not yield them? So, indeed, we must sow what they tell us and sell it. It is precisely now that we cooperative workers need full initiative, too. Kolkhozes are also cooperatives. The market should be our criterion: what the market wants and what it will yield. The same applies to prices. Prices should be reconsidered in two respects. We have to find a way, of course, to produce goods cheaply and in large quantities, on the one hand; on the other hand, we must control them in some way.

It is here that the state order and prices should be linked. The state order must be minimal, and the rest must be put at our disposal. I, for example, also insist on the sales tax. [end recording]

[Nazarov] The story about the state order was concluded by Mikhail Grigoriyevich Vagin, talking about it in agriculture. A Swedish correspondent asked Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin why it is political rather than economic innovations on which the theses are focusing attention. Here is Academician Abalkin's answer:

[Begin Abalkin recording] Further restructuring in our society is impossible without radical changes in the political system. Radical transformations are urgently needed here and in the life of the party and soviets. Incidentally, one must look at the agenda of the 19th party conference. It contains two issues: The first one concerns the course of fulfilling the 12th 5-Year Plan. In other words, it is necessary to sum up the results of economic development; they have been summed up, and further development has been determined. The second issue concerns the whole democratization of the political system. This is naturally a central issue. There is no unanimous decision on this in the party yet. Neither does the party have a complete final position on this. This is the main issue. It is therefore the main issue of the theses also [words indistinct] has to be pursued to the end. [end recording]

[Nazarov] Many Soviet journalists, it seemed to me, found the question by a U.S. colleague more than original. It concerned the possibility of enterprises going bankrupt and of unemployment of staff in the apparatus in connection with the introduction of full financial autonomy in agriculture. Nikolay Ilich Travkin took the floor to answer:

[Begin Travkin recording] Widespread bankruptcy is not yet being observed. But this is perhaps because financial autonomy is not yet widespread. However, there are such examples today. Most of them are, perhaps, in construction. Take the Neryan works, manufacturing bricks. The enterprise was systematically losing money. Its leaders thought that raising prices on bricks was the only way the enterprise could be pushed into making a profit. This was not endorsed. The enterprise was given away into the hands of a cooperative. The number of those working at the enterprise fell. It fell, above all, through cuts in the administrative apparatus. There were about 70 managers for 150 staff there. Only a total of 70 remained, and among them 5 were managers. Moreover, this apparatus of five felt the responsibility for results in their wallets. Two months later the output of the works doubled. There are many examples like this in Moscow Oblast.

As for cuts in the apparatus, I have not seen unemployment. The collectives belonging to my department include 16,000 people. I have not so far come across any cases of people knocking on my door and asking for a job. Now we are seeking ways. Another point is this: Suppose a person, for example, has been sitting for about 30 years in a comfortable easy chair, in a comfortable office, and with a cushy salary. Then this person is rushing to THE DAILY TELEGRAPH asking where

social justice is to be found under socialism. I have not touched anyone, as it were, and no one has touched me; and all of a sudden I am made to work. Let them find for me the same type of job where I can still do nothing. I do not think that it is fair to put this sort of thing on par with unemployment. [end recording]

[Nazarov] In conclusion, I would like to say that tomorrow a news conference will be held on the subject: Foreign policy and restructuring.

Abalkin, Others Speak

PM2706084388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA
in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 3

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondents R. Guseynov and A. Drozdov "Report From 19th All-Union Party Conference International Press Center": "Without Prejudice"]

[Text] Glasnost has made it possible for us to talk about the problems of the economy in an honest and unprejudiced way. We have, as it were, rediscovered this science for ourselves in the totality of fascinating and diverse ideas generated by restructuring. This new stage in the life of Soviet society has unleashed the creative potential of not only scientists but practicing economic managers as well.

Participants in the latest meeting at the press center with delegates to the 19th party conference listened with very great attention to the speeches delivered by USSR Minister M.S. Shkabaridnya, M.G. Vagin, chairman of Koverninskiy Rayon's Lenin Kolkhoz, Gorkiy Oblast, and N.I. Travkin, chief of the No 2 State Production Association for Construction. The delegates shared their assessments of the progress of economic reform in the USSR and its prospects. They did not agree on everything. Journalists heard various opinions on, for example, the reform of prices (its scale and timetable). At the end of the meeting a Japanese journalist colleague observed: "Just imagine, if today's 'mini party conference' has been so rich in opinions, what a meaningful contribution to your life the work of a forum of several thousands can make!"

We agree. We agree with N.I. Travkin, who, after illustrating the serious difficulties involved in the transition to new management methods via the example of his own sector—the construction industry—stated that he was going to the party conference with optimism: "My mood is based on the belief that we will not henceforth deviate from the path of revolutionary transformations. I hope that the conference will provide moral reinforcement for the forces of restructuring."

Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, had to work hard at the news conference, since the foreign press asked him most of its questions. His statements

removed, in our opinion, the aura of imaginary "proscription" from certain topics. A lively discussion in the corridors of the press center elicited from the academicians the opinion that the law of value operates in all developed economic systems and is not an invention of capitalism. This law is an organic part of socialism and disregard of it merely leads to deformation of the system.

Restructuring is presenting us with new problems, including the economic autonomy of union republics. The Estonian delegation intends to raise this question at the party conference. In Academician Abalkin's opinion, the expansion of economic independence, "republican autonomy," is an objective law-governed necessity. This phenomenon can hardly be considered "purely Estonian." Calm, political wisdom, and a high level of theoretical substantiation are essential when interpreting it. It should not be forgotten, however, that trends toward unwarranted isolation and an intensification of nationalist feelings inevitably arise during the process of autonomization.

A XINHUA correspondent wanted to know how the experience of Chinese reform is evaluated in the USSR. It contains, L.I. Abalkhin replied, a host of interesting discoveries that take into account national traditions and features of historical development. Journalists were interested to learn that the first Soviet-Chinese seminar on problems of economic reform will be held this December.

Many of our readers are asking us to recount the answers to questions asked at the first news conference. Will representatives of communist and workers parties take part in the party conference? No. But journalists of the publications of those parties have been accredited to the press center and information about party conference decisions will be conveyed to our friends.

Will there be a supplemental election or reelection of leading party organs? This question falls within the competence of the actual conference, but the prevailing tradition is that reelection usually takes place at congresses and plenums.

Will Boris Yeltsin take the floor during debate? If he asks to speak, he will probably be given the floor. His speech will be published along with the others.

Why are not all the sessions being televised? The beginning and end of the conference's work and the main report will be shown on Soviet television and the Inter-vision system. Viewers will see the debates in television newscasts. A transcript of the conference will be published afterward. In deciding that delegates only would participate in certain sessions and other sessions would be held without direct relay, the organizers were guided by a desire to facilitate frank, bold discussion without concern about the audience. It is clear that questions that are still not entirely plain and that have not received an

unambiguous party evaluation will arise. Incidentally, the tradition of holding party events within a narrow circle is characteristic of many parties in different parts of the world.

How many delegates from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast will be taking part in the conference? There are five delegates from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast party organization in the Azerbaijani SSR delegation.

Economist Shmelev Previews Party Conference
PM2606101488 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with economist N.P. Shmelev by TASS correspondent A. Korotkov under the rubric "19th All-Union Party Conference: We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "You Cannot Accelerate and Restructure Simultaneously"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The name of economist Nikolay Petrovich Shmelev became widely known after the publication of his article "Advances and Debts" in NOVYY MIR last year. The profound analysis of the state of affairs in the country's national economy and bold, far-reaching proposals aimed at normalizing the economy evoked high interest not only among specialists, but among a very wide range of readers. His article "New Concerns" appeared in the April issue of the journal this year. In this article the author expresses his views on the serious problems facing the country in the course of restructuring. On the eve of the 19th all-union party conference, TASS correspondent A. Korotkov met with the scientist.

[Korotkov] Nikolay Petrovich, you are an economist and a journalist, and a member of the CPSU. What do you expect from the party forum? Which issues, in your view, should be paramount? Will you speak at the conference?

[Shmelev] I will be present at the conference as a guest, and therefore I will not be speaking. As for the debate, it seems to me that it should revolve around two issues. First, the role and place of the party in the country's economic life. The idea expressed in the theses that the party should distance itself from the resolution of economic issues and hand over these functions to the competent management organs seems very true.

Second, I expect a discussion of why restructuring in the economy is going slowly. And I would like to hear not only formal reproaches aimed at bureaucracy, but an in-depth analysis of the current processes. I am convinced that today you cannot accelerate and restructure simultaneously. Moreover, I would regard a lessening of the pace of production as a sign of normalization of the economy.

[Korotkov] All the same, very many people are inclined to blame the administrative bureaucratic apparatus for all our ills...

[Shmelev] And that, I believe, is no accident. The ministries in their present form are incapable of effectively managing production, they act as a brake on enterprises that are switching over to work under the new economic conditions. In order to control the situation, the ministries try to secure 100-percent control in the form of the state order. The time has come to decide what kind of bureaucracy we need and to what extent we need it.

[Korotkov] Bureaucrats will try with all their might to retard restructuring, because they fear drastic changes in their own lives...

[Shmelev] The fear of being left out of things is unfounded. The socialist firms, concerns, syndicates, and joint enterprises that spring up under the new economic conditions will urgently need specialists with the highest qualifications. Here there is far greater scope for creativity and the implementation of new ideas than in ministry offices.

[Korotkov] Nikolay Petrovich, you are a doctor of economic sciences, chief of the Department of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada, and a professor. What is the range of your scientific interests?

[Shmelev] I am a specialist in the field of the U.S. economy. But my colleagues joke that our institute is also the Institute of the USSR. The economy of an individual country cannot be studied out of context, without the study of interconnections and interactions. Moreover, our work, apart from purely scientific interest, must also be expected to provide practical recommendations. Today many past ideas on cooperation with capitalist countries are being reexamined. The opportunities that are opening up in this connection seem to me to be shoots of the new thinking on the eve of the 21st century.

Tolstykh Addresses Economy Academy Graduates
PM2706111388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Economic Management Cadres"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the graduation of the latest, ninth, class of students at the USSR Council of Ministers Academy of the National Economy was held in Moscow on 25 June.

The presidium comprised leaders of USSR ministries and departments and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government V.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, congratulated the graduates on the successful completion of their studies and thanked the teaching and lecturing staff and all academy personnel for their great work in strengthening the national economy's corps of cadres. The academy's scientific potential is doing an increasingly active job in restructuring economic management and providing scientific and methodological backup for the measures being taken by the party to shape new economic thinking.

The graduation of this year's class at the academy, he stressed, coincides with an important event in the life of our party and country—the 19th all-union party conference, which will have to assess the initial results of restructuring, work out answers to the questions of how to remove the obstacles in its way, give new impetus to our society's revolutionary renewal, make it irreversible, and define the prospects for further progress.

An enormous amount of work will have to be done in deepening democratization and expanding glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism. As the theses for the party conference stress, there are great tasks involved in developing and implementing a radical reform that ensures the transition from primarily administrative to economic methods of running the national economy, its retooling, the switching of the economy to the path of intensive development, the accelerated introduction of scientific and technical achievements into production, and the fulfillment of large-scale social programs.

The economic training of leading cadres and all working people is of great importance under the conditions of restructuring, the speaker pointed out. Economic studies are now becoming part and parcel of all production training, and a most important component in the system of the continuous education of working people. We will have to ensure that leading cadres and national economic specialists comprehensively study the new management methods based on complete economic accountability [khozaschet] and self-financing, extensive independence, and high responsibility for the results of their work. It is important to ensure that all our leaders and specialists are competent in their professional work and have mastered the economic levers for accelerating scientific and technical progress, improving management organization, and introducing the best domestic and foreign experience.

In resolving this and other tasks a great role is played by the Academy of the National Economy, which should be a genuine training, scientific, and methodological center in the sphere of retraining and improving the qualifications of leading cadres.

The academy's collective will have to substantially restructure the teaching process and the organization of scientific research in order to considerably enhance the quality of retraining and improving the qualifications of

leading economic cadres taking account of present-day demands. The academy faces new tasks in training cadres for foreign economic activity.

The deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers wished the academy graduates success in actively involving themselves in a responsible fashion in successfully fulfilling the large-scale plans for social creation and in implementing the decisions of the forthcoming 19th party conference.

Professor Ye.K. Smirnitskiy, rector of the academy, and students spoke on behalf of the collective.

Torrential Rains Cause Flood Damage in Ukraine
LD2506004488 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Torrential rains have hit the northwestern part of the Ukraine. In the past 20 days the area has received more than 2 monthly norms of precipitation. Rivers have overflowed, flooding big areas of cropland and pastures. The floods also destroyed roads, bridges, and auxiliary buildings. Food and prime necessity goods have been dispatched to the calamity-stricken areas. Volunteer units are being formed to combat the consequences of the flooding.

Briefs

'Progress' Pipeline Completed

The last joint has been welded on the transcontinental stretch of the Progress gas pipeline near the village of Bogoratchany in the Karpathian foothills. The diameter of the joint is 1,420 millimeters. The Dnestr-Uzhgorod stretch has now been handed over ahead of schedule. [Summary] [LD2606021388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1305 GMT 25 Jun 88]

Military

Akhromeyev To Visit U.S. 'First Half of July'
LD2606210688 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 26 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—It has been announced here that Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR—first deputy minister of defence of the USSR, is to pay an official visit to the United States of America in the first half of July this year at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the USA.

Stefanovskiy Interviewed on Military Training
OW2606143588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2130 GMT 25 Jun 88

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; interview with Lieutenant General Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy and delegate to the 19th Party Conference, by correspondent Boris Kazakov in the Moscow Television studio; date not given—recorded; Stefanovskiy's title is as identified by screen caption]

[Text][Kazakov] Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, lately we have increasingly been discussing, contemplating, and aspiring for qualitative changes in our activities in all spheres of society, in the industrial, social, as well as state spheres. In this aspiration we should, of course, by no means ignore the Army. As clearly stated in the Theses of the Central Committee for the 19th Party Conference, military construction should be guided mainly by qualitative indices both in respect to equipment and to personnel. What does this mean?

[Stefanovskiy] When we speak of the process of detente and of nuclear arms reduction—we are actually already on this path of reduction—the need for raising the quality of conventional arms and hardware [tekhnika] emerges. In such a situation, we face the problem of increasing requirements. This, primarily, creates one practical task for scientists and designers: to bring the new and presently existing hardware to a standard of quality which would ensure, to a maximal extent, the achievement of designed combat tasks—if the need arises. This is why the matter primarily lies in modernizing the existing kinds of hardware. Second, the matter also lies in improving this hardware with modern apparatuses and instruments, without having design reduce its function while securing its balance. Third, there is further the task of doing superb study of the hardware, knowing it, and being able to use it, that is, getting everything possible out of it, and doing so to a maximal extent.

Specific practical and initial proposals aimed precisely at improving quality has appeared in a number of units and subunits. Study has been and is consistently being carried out; there has been no increase in its volume nor in its duration. A soldier used to serve 2 years, and a seaman 3 years, and they will continue to do so. Hardware is becoming more complex, and because of this, the matter lies in the search for reserves, which has been done poorly so far.

The search for possible reserves can be carried out in military collectives, such as by having more experienced servicemen help younger and greener ones. It has resulted in a number of practical initiatives. One initiative called for making teams and crews entirely interchangeable. This initiative appeared in a number of

districts, including fleets. This means that each serviceman, besides mastering his own speciality, masters a closely related one. This enables a crew to perform a task at a high level, under any circumstances, regardless of its composition and regardless of whether any experienced members have been replaced or whether there are any new members in the crew. Regardless of this, it should be able to perform its task at a high level. A very harmonious and interesting collective of the cruiser "Groznyy," which I happened to visit recently, is an example of this. The commander and the party and Komsomol committees, working together and spurred by this youthful initiative, made every training period an interesting one. This is achieved by using the elements of competition and comparison, and by the fact that the result of a training period is made public, upon the commander's approval and upon the completion of a training period. One can see at once who is ahead today, or who lags behind and is in need of help. This immediately prompts the Komsomol committee and the ship's Communists to help the seaman concerned, or the training period leader concerned, and to intensify any specific elements of the study, so that no single minute of training time is lost. This means that work to raise quality continues.

In this respect, I would like in conclusion to mention another thing. I do not want to go into the problem in detail, but the task of improving the quality of personnel training—that is, primarily, improving the quality of personnel, the level of their training and, consequently, their ability to handle hardware and arms that are now used or will be supplied—depends to a great extent on the level of preparedness of youth to perform military service and on the quality of the foundation provided by primary military training. This training should give a young soldier or seaman the ability not to get lost right from the start, to enable him to join the collective sooner, become a soldier sooner, and master things sooner that are new and unusual to him, without being afraid of them, but by setting about his work and doing things the way the majority does.

In this connection, the tasks set by the Party Central Committee Theses for the 19th Party Conference appear to me as exceeding the framework of the tasks set for the Ministry of Defense, military personnel, political bodies, and the Army and Navy party and Komsomol organizations. These Theses very clearly formulate and broaden the requirements for regional party and soviet bodies, military komissariats [voyenkomats] with regard to improving the preparedness of youth to perform military service, and have made the requirements more rigid. We must start from the beginning. This complicates things, because the 2- and 3-year terms of service for soldiers and seamen respectively are far from sufficient for engaging in profound study. Great efforts and responsibility are, really, needed here....

[Kazakov, interrupting] A man should join the Army ready to perform tasks....

[Stefanovskiy, interrupting] Yes, minimal ones; there should be a minimum, from which commanders should start.

[Kazakov] I think there also are some kind of incorrect relationships in the Army, those called irregular [neustavnyye] ones. This may be an incorrect term, though. A man who can do something, and who feels that he is capable of doing it properly, is merely annoyed by those who are incapable and weak, who get in his way, roughly speaking.

[Stefanovskiy] This, in fact, is one of the reasons for, well, the watchful and sometimes suspicious attitude toward young, newly arrived recruits, especially those who are poorly prepared. It is not only that they are looked upon as those spoiling the general formation, if we can put it that way; they sometimes sense their shortcomings and use any pretext to evade even standard work or hide from it. In general, this brought condemnation not only for certain personnel, but for the military collective as a whole. Incidentally, we had many opportunities to be convinced of this in Afghanistan. Under different pretexts, some tried to stay back in some small town, do housekeeping duties there, cook potatoes or do some cleaning work, especially in the beginning, because they were not sure they were ready to perform battle duties.

[Kazakov] There was no doubt in my mind that our discussion of the quality of training would eventually bring us to Afghanistan. That is natural, because of the human qualities those young fellows manifested in those extreme situations. We looked at them the way we look in the streets at so-called punks [punks], metallists [heavy metal rock group fans], and people belonging to other informal organizations; that is, with some kind of distrust. This also was the way World War II veterans looked at them. Yet, suddenly these young fellows showed themselves as being of the very best traditions, showing the best of human qualities. That means that our young Soviet men have an internal reserve, and it manifested itself in extreme situations in a way it should be manifested by a Soviet patriot.

In this connection, these men who served in Afghanistan—not only soldiers, but officers, commanders as well—they are probably the bearers of that qualitative potential, the stimulus needed by the Army in this respect.

[Stefanovskiy] That is undoubtedly so. I am convinced of that; I know them....

[Kazakov, interrupting] Yes, you, indeed, have been closely engaged in this work for 3 years.

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, I have. But you have also seen this clearly, because we have met them and seen them off many times. I have been, however, engaged in this work more closely, because I saw those boys in Afghanistan

and also saw them doing great work, after they changed their military outfits into civilian ones. I am convinced that they, and those who will join and are already joining military collectives and continuing military service in the Army in Soviet territory, are bringing seriousness and a profound and realistic attitude to the need for serious study of the military task, the proper [nastoyashchiy] way, if we use the Lenin expression. Their participation in military-patriotic education and the preparation of youth for military service is also a source and reserve which can significantly affect quality. We welcome this decision and believe that it will be a serious augmentation. We welcome the joint decision of the Committee for Public Education and the Ministry of Defense on the preferential admission extended by a considerable number of universities and pedagogical institutes to those reserve soldiers who have performed internationalist duties, who later may be appointed teachers in primary military training. We believe that

they will not only help in mastering elementary military skills, but will be good educators—educators capable of instilling a very serious patriotic attitude regarding both military and civil duties, and the experience which they accumulated and which has been tested in Afghanistan will indeed help and should help those youth who know about Afghanistan only from books and movies, which are sometimes very brief and sometimes even contradictory in their accounts. I believe, however, that they will in general introduce a new experience in dealing with the problem of preparing youth for the Army and improving personnel training in the Armed Forces, and this experience will be for the good.

[Kazakov] Well, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, thank you for the discussion.

[Stefanovskiy] Thank you.